

HARVARD THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

VOLUME XXVII

APRIL, 1934

NUMBER 2

A PROPHETIC ATTESTATION OF THE DECALOGUE: HOSEA 6:5

WITH SOME OBSERVATIONS ON PSALMS 15 AND 24

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TO

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ON HIS SIXTIETH BIRTHDAY

"Therefore have I hewed *them* by the prophets;
I have slain them by the words of my mouth:
And thy judgments *are as* the light *that* goeth forth."

A DARK and delphic verse, out of joint with what precedes and follows, the type of abrupt and fragmentary utterances which has made many a student of the little book complain with Jerome: *Osee commaticus est et quasi per sententias loquens*.¹ The ready acquiescence in the familiar refuge of the fatigued philologist, 'corrupt beyond restoration', is nowhere more regrettable than in Hos 6₅. The verse, obviously defaced, mars a glorious bit of ancient Hebrew writing, the otherwise well preserved poem 6₁₋₆. Generations have used all their wit and skill of interpretation to read some coherent meaning into the puzzling passage, willing at times to forego rules of biblical grammar or even fundamentals of biblical faith. All in vain. For *hāṣabtî* can be as little squared with *h^aragtîm* as one can conceive of Hosea, a heart of deepest tenderness, believing the

¹ Praefatio in Duodecim Prophetas (Migne, Patr. Lat. vol. XXVIII p. 1015). Cf. also his Prologus in Osee (Migne, l.c. vol. XXV p. 855 f.); G. A. Smith, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, New York 1896, vol. I. p. 220 f.; G. Hölcher, *Die Profeten*, Leipzig 1914 p. 218. The passage is also mentioned in "The Oldest Collection of Bible Difficulties by a Jew" (JQR 13, 1901 p. 369; cf. about the author J. Mann, in: *Tarbiz* III 1932 p. 381 f.).

prophets to have been slayers of their people or God to have been the slayer of the prophets. Whatever 'demonic' features his concept of deity may contain — inherited from sterner generations or reflecting the transient moods to which a sensitive and impulsive poet is given² — its innermost and abiding nature is inexhaustible love which no sin of man can wear out, let alone sway to cruel injustice.³ Even the recourse to a very free and figurative interpretation has been unable to read away the threatening meaning of the verse which makes it harshly discordant with the rest of the poem, quite obviously of a more tender temper. Incapable of reconciling the discrepancy, scholars of the modern era resorted, not without uneasiness, either to the dismissal of parts of the poem as spurious⁴ or to its dismemberment into independent units of discourse, conceived on different occasions and assembled in one chapter by the mechanical principle of catch-word arrangement.⁵ As if the consistent imagery, painted in the poetry of the North Palestinian landscape at dawn (6₃) with its morning mist and early dew (6₄) speedily exhaled in the rising sun (6₅), were mere chance or editorial patchwork, and not the purpose and art of prophetic expression.⁶ Other attempts, sensing the inner unity of the poem, failed to explain 6₅ without elaborate changes of

² Cf. Hos 5_{12,14} 9₁₄ 13_{7f.} Paul Volz, *Das Dämonische in Jahwe*, Tübingen 1924 p. 9, cites also Hos 6₅.

³ Cf. Hos. 11_{4-8f.} 2₂₁ 3₁ 14₅. See also Rud. Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. II⁶ p. 345.

⁴ T. K. Cheyne, introduction to W. R. Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*², London 1895 p. xxi f.; P. Volz, *Die vorexilische Jahweprophete und der Messias*, Göttingen 1897, p. 33; B. Stade, *Biblische Theologie des A. T. I*, Tübingen 1905, p. 222; H. Guthe, in: *Kautzsch-Bertholet, Die hl. Schriften d. A. T.*, Tübingen, 1923, vol. II⁴ p. 10.

⁵ Hos 6₄ has been very frequently held to commence a new prophetic speech, so already J. G. Eichhorn, *Die hebräischen Propheten*, Göttingen 1816, vol. I. p. 98; J. C. Stuck, *Hoseas Prophetia*, Lipsiae 1828 p. 256 ff. 269; Carl Friedr. Keil, *Bibl. Commentar über die zwölf kleinen Propheten*³, Leipzig 1888 p. 66 f. 69. Of newer critics see K. Marti, *Dodekapropheten*, Tübingen 1903, p. 54 f.; W. Baumgartner, in: *Schweizerische Theol. Zeitschr.* 30, 1913 p. 118; Franz Praetorius, *Bemerkungen zum Buche Hosea*, Berlin 1918, p. 31; Joh. Lindblom, *Hosea literarisch untersucht*, Åbo 1927, p. 83 ff. 114. That 5₁₅ is the finale of the preceding oracle has been shown by Hans Schmidt, *Hosea 6, 1-6* (in: *Sellin Festschrift*, Leipzig 1927, p. 111 f.).

⁶ Noticed by Abraham ibn Ezra when commenting on 6₄: בעבור שאמר כשחר נכון מציא.

the text ⁷ or deletion of parts thereof as a later interpolation,⁸ though unable to give a plausible reason for so radical an alteration of the masoretic recension, attested in the main by all the versions.⁹ No wonder that, disgusted with unwarranted emendations,¹⁰ the more serious commentators of our day ¹¹ choose to return to the certainties of the traditional text and cling to its letter — at the sacrifice (one is afraid) of its spirit and at great aesthetic and perhaps even historical loss.

A reconsideration of the verse seems needed.

I

Up to recent times all attempts at exegesis of Hos 6₅, despite their wide variety in detail, clearly fall into two classes, the difference hinging on the function attributed to the preposition בְּנִבִּיאִים. One group of interpreters¹ takes it to be בְּ *objecti* and accordingly to refer to *prophets slain* by God, either be-

⁷ Georg Richter, *Erläuterungen zu dunkeln Stellen in den kleinen Propheten*, Gütersloh 1914 p. 28 who reads עַל כֵּן קָצַחַתִּי בְּנִבִּיאִים הַבְּנִיִּים בְּאִמְרֵי פִי.

⁸ Bernard Duhm, *The Twelve Prophets*, transl. by A. Duff, London 1912, p. 95.

⁹ The reading of the Sept. ἀνέλευσα does not presuppose קָצַחַתִּי (so Cheyne, ZAW 31, 1911 p. 315 and Felix E. Peiser, *Hosea*, Philologische Studien zum A. T. Leipzig 1914 p. 25) but with the very frequent confusion of ב and פ, the aramaicism חֲצַרְתִּי. So already Nöldeke (see K. Vollers, *Das Dodekapropheten der Alexandriner*, ZAW 3, 1883 p. 249); Felix Perles, *Analekten zur Textkritik des A. T. Neue Folge*, Leipzig 1922 p. 29, and A. Kaminka, *Studien zur Septuaginta an der Hand der zwölf kleinen Prophetenbücher*, Frankfurt a. M. 1928, p. 26 and 39.

¹⁰ The most recent example is Franz Wutz, *Die Transkriptionen von der Septuaginta bis zu Hieronymus*, Stuttgart 1933 p. 388 who metamorphoses 'stones' (Job 5₂₃) and 'prophets' (Hos 6₅) into unexampled 'fruits': עַל-כֵּן חֲצַרְתִּי הָאֲנָבִים.

¹¹ Sigmund Mowinckel, *Le Décalogue*, Paris 1927 p. 54; Ernst Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch*³, Leipzig 1929 p. 75.

¹ Septuagint; Syriac; Cyril of Alexandria (ed. Migne, *Patr. Graeca* vol. LXXI p. 165); Theodoret (ed. Migne l.c. vol. LXXXI p. 1265, differently ib. p. 1584); Abraham ibn Ezra; Eliezer of Beaugency (ed. S. Poznański in *Haggören*, vol. III Berdichev, 1901, p. 114); the commentators reviewed by Edward Pococke, *A Commentary on the Prophecy of Hosea*, Oxford 1685, p. 306 ff.; Ferd. Hitzig, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten*⁴, Leipzig 1881 p. 31; Paul Riessler, *Die kleinen Propheten*, Rottenburg a. N. 1911 p. 29 and 31 (reads *n'bi'êkem*); A. B. Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur hebr. Bibel*, Leipzig 1912, vol. V p. 179; Franz Praetorius l.c. p. 31 and idem, *Neue Bemerkungen zu Hosea*, Berlin 1922 p. 28 (reads *râšahîl* or *r'êšahîlîm* which he however drops as explanatory gloss to restore the "Doppeltrimeter") recanted in his later *Die Gedichte des Hosea*, Halle 1926 p. 15 f. (reads and retains as "echter Text": *râšahîl n'bi'êkem*); E. Sellin l.c. p. 73 f.

cause their teachings were false or contrary to 6_b, or, if they be reckoned as true prophets, in order that their martyrdom might be an expiatory sacrifice for the sinful nation or a warning and forebodement of God's wrath. Others of the same group² understand the two verbs to denote *figuratively* the labor and trouble of the prophetic office, wearing its bearers out to death, or else the trials and tribulations, even the peril of assassination to which the prophets were exposed: such may be said to have been slain by the words of his mouth, because they were ready to die or actually died in his service.

A second group of commentators³ renders the preposition as *instrumenti* and the people as the object of punishment. *Israel* is being hewn to pieces and *slain* by the agency of the prophets, conceived here as the tools of divine chastisement. God's or his prophets word is *δύναμις*: it actually causes the catastrophe it foretells. Others⁴ construe the two verbs as

² Joseph and David Kimḥi and the Jewish commentators listed by Harry Cohen, *The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimhi on Hosea*, New York 1929 p. 54; Isaac b. Juda Abravanel, *Perûš 'al n'bi'im aḥ'rônîm*, Amsterdam 1641; Meir Friedman (in: A. Harkavy Festschrift, Petersburg 1908 p. 24, quoting Nu 11₁₅ I Re 19₄); Ehrlich l.c. when speaking of "Schläge und Todesgefahr" and referring to 1 Re 22₂₄ Jer 20₂ 26₂₀₋₂₄ 38₉.

³ The Targum; Rashi; Joseph Kara, *In Hoseam Commentarius*, Breslau 1861; Heinr. Ewald, *Die Propheten des Alten Bundes* Stuttgart 1840 vol. I p. 144 f.; Keil l.c. p. 70; J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, Berlin 1892, p. 114; C. von Orelli, *The Twelve Minor Prophets*, Edinburgh 1893 p. 38; Samuel Oettli, *Amos and Hosea*, Gütersloh 1901 p. 86 suggests *h^asabtîm* or better *m^ehastîm* or *l^ehastîm*, emendations endorsed by W. Staerk, *Das assyrische Weltreich im Urteil der Propheten*, Göttingen 1908 p. 184; W. Nowack, *Die kleinen Propheten*, Göttingen 1897 p. 42; K. Marti l.c. p. 56 reads *h^asabtîkâ* and *h^aragtikâ* and transfers 5c corrected as *umišpāṭēnū k^e’ôr* to 6_{3ab}, the latter transposition and the change of the second verb adopted also by O. Procksch, *Die kleinen prophetischen Schriften vor dem Exil*, Stuttgart 1910 p. 380 where the verse is construed as a question; A. van Hoonacker, *Les Douze Petits Prophètes*, Paris 1908 p. 63; Adam C. Welch, *The Religion of Israel under the Kingdom*, Edinburgh 1912 p. 110 and 269, n. 27; Melville Scott, *The Message of Hosea*, London 1921 p. 50; S. L. Brown, *The Book of Hosea*, London 1932 p. 57.

⁴ Jerome; Luther; Calvin; Gesenius, *Thes.* p. 509; August Simson, *Der Prophet Hosea*, Hamburg 1851 p. 183 f.; August Wünsche, *Der Prophet Hosea*, Leipzig 1868 p. 251; Anton Scholz, *Commentar zum Buche des Propheten Hoseas*, Würzburg 1882 p. 76 f.; J. Halévy, *Le Livre d'Osee* (in: *Revue Sémitique*, vol. 10, 1902, p. 106 f. reads *h^asabtîm*); W. R. Harper, *Amos and Hosea* (in: *The Internat. Crit. Com.*) New York 1905, p. 285 f.; J. M. P. Smith, *A Commentary on the Books of Amos, Hosea and Micah*, New York 1914 p. 113; T. W. Crafer, *The Book of Hosea*, Cambridge 1923, p. 44.

conveying, in figurative language, the sharp reproofs and threats of the prophets and their pronouncements of doom and death. In an attempt to soften the harshness of the second verb, some read into *ḥāṣabtî* the *mitiores adhortationes* of the prophets and into *h^araglîm* their *minae acriores*,⁵ both being a part of the divine pedagogy determined to break and subdue the stony hearts and to hew the recalcitrant people into shape.⁶

The remainder of the verse, the comparison of judgments pronounced against the people with the light that goeth forth, is taken for the most part to express the irresistibleness or conspicuousness of the punishment which no one can stop or fail to see, it being clear and certain as the rising sun.⁷ The threatening character of the whole oracle suggests, according to others,⁸ the comparison with the lightning flash, as in Job 37₃. Kindlier souls and centuries read into the passage a more cheerful message: God's censure has a teleology of its own, it is designed to call forth the inherent piety of Israel so that its goodness might become manifest to all as the light of the day.⁹

The above is naturally a very cursory review of the main lines of treatment accorded to the verse by biblical exegetes down to the modern era. It portrays nevertheless the religious

⁵ J. Chr. Stuck l.c.; E. F. C. Rosenmüller, *Prophetæ Minores*, Lipsiae 1812 p. 198.

⁶ The interpretation of *ḥāṣabtî* in the light of Ps 29₇ attempted by Ch. Michaëlis ("fulminavi per prophetas, eo nimirum sensu, quo Latini quoque de oratore dicunt: tonat, fulminat") found little following, cf. Sam. Henr. Manger, *Commentarius in Librum Propheticum Hoseae*, Campis 1782, p. 293. J. Barth, *Wurzeluntersuchungen zum hebr. und aram. Lexikon*, Berlin 1902, p. 22 renders Ps 29₇: "Horch, Gott entzündet Feuer Flammen" according to an additional signification of the root in Arabic, quoting Sura 21₉₈ which styles the sinners *ḥaṣabu jahannama* or fuel of hell. See however Friedr. Schulthess, in: *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* vol. 164, 1902 p. 671 who rejects the example as "exegetisches Experiment der Dogmatiker . . , vielleicht eins der halbverdauten Fremdwörter mit denen Muhammed imponieren wollte." No attempt seems to have been made at an identification of *ḥāṣabtî* with the Arabic *ḥṭb* address words to, speak to; *ḥaṣib* orator.

⁷ Pococke l.c. p. 308 f.; Harper l.c. p. 286; J. M. P. Smith l.c. p. 113.

⁸ E. Huxtable, in: *Speakers Commentary*, New York 1876, vol. VI p. 444; G. A. Smith l.c. p. 265; Crafer l.c.

⁹ David Pareus, *Hoseas Propheta*, Heidelbergae 1605 p. 132. See also Moses Alshekh, *Mar'ot Haṣ-ṣōb'e'ot*, Venice 1603: חצבתי בנביאים כחוצב בהם קרעי היסודין . . שבבא משפטיך בבית דין של מעלה לא תתחייבו . . כדי לעשות חסד עמכם . . כי אם אור יצא.

and moral exercises by which devout centuries evaded textual and theological difficulties: deftness and despair often succeeded in coaxing or extorting from the words the very opposite of their meaning. It also illustrates the straits to which commentators of a more recent and critical age can be driven in the endeavor to smooth over the obvious incoherence of the verses. In a response to a penitential psalm of the people, it would be reasonable that God should complain about their repentance being superficial; but what sense is there (even if inconcinnities of language be disregarded) in the abrupt reference to prophets slain by God or slaying their people by the command of God, acts — it would seem — most unsuited for demonstrating as clearly as the day that God desires mercy and not bloody sacrifice? ¹⁰ The strange and sudden thought is entirely unmotivated despite the conjunction *'al-kên* which does not remove but only accentuates the want of connection.

Wellhausen solved the problem in cavalier fashion, assuming a gap between 6₄ and 6₅.¹¹ He was followed only by a few kindred critics,¹² all others hesitating to see a little poem of but six verses, split already by previous operations, being chopped into stray splinters. Yet it was Wellhausen who did not fail to observe the more pertinent linguistic fallacy in the prevalent interpretation of 6₅: the entirely arbitrary equation of *ḥāṣabtî ba-* and *h^aragtîm*. It is true, he only left *ḥāṣabtî* untranslated,¹³ thus indicating that it seems suspicious and in need of correction. It never occurred to him that it is the second verb that calls for scepticism. Nevertheless his rejection of the traditional and erroneous exegesis of *ḥāṣabtî bann^ebi'im* was a gain in critical thought which should not have been discarded.

¹⁰ Contrast Ernst Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch*³ 1929 p. 73 and Klostermann in Sellin's *Der alttestamentliche Prophetismus*, Leipzig 1912, p. 37. The idea of god massacring his prophets for no other sin but praying for their people is not only entirely alien to Hosea, but to all Hebrew antiquity which, on the contrary, held it to be a sin against god if the prophet were to cease to pray for the people, cf. I Sa 12₂₃.

¹¹ l.c. p. 114: "Eine Verbindung zwischen 6₄ und 6₅ lässt sich nicht entdecken; 6₄ schliesst abgebrochen und 6₅ beginnt abgebrochen."

¹² J. W. Nowack l.c. p. 43 and W. R. Harper, *The Structure of the Text of the Book of Hosea*, Chicago 1905 p. 23 and in the *Intern. Crit. Com.* p. 280.

¹³ l.c. p. 16.

und dass zu diesem und zum ganzen Satze **וְרִנָּתִים** nicht passt, sondern dass dort **בְּאֲבָנִים** und hier **הַרְיָתִים** zu schreiben ist. Denn die Steintafeln **הוֹרֹת** (Ex 24₁₂) und dieses und **מִשְׁפָּט** gehören zusammen (Dt 33₁₀ Ps 119₁₀₂).

The passage thus reconstructed, according to Klostermann, conveys the thought that God, because he knew his people to be fickle and faithless (6₄) and because he desired his decision of what is right (*mišpāṭî*) to be preserved in their memory in unclouded clearness, *therefore* (*‘al-kēn*) hewed in the stones and instructed the people by the words of his mouth that he wanted love and not sacrifice (6₆). But Israel failed and betrayed him like Adam (6₇, emending *šām* into *gam*) who also instructed by God's own mouth, transgressed the covenant. Klostermann concludes that Hosea knew not only of the fall of man, but also of the Mosaic decalogue, to both of which allusion is made in this chapter.

The connection with 6₇ ff., an independent oracle, is certainly wrong, hence one may leave unrefuted the supposed reference to Adam.¹⁸ What carries more weight is the feeble logic of the context and the strained explanation of *‘al-kēn*, the obnoxious conjunction which has defied centuries of exegesis and which cannot be said to have been surmounted by the new attempt. The trend of thought postulated by Klostermann would appear to require after 6₄, if it be the response to 6₁₋₃, an antithetic **וְאִכְּבִי** (cf. 11₃ 12₁₀ 13₄ and 2₁₀, Am 2₉ f.) or some other concessive rather than consecutive conjunction, an *although* not a *therefore* (cf. 4_{3,13} 13₆). Furthermore, the emendation of 'prophets' into 'stones,' along the older lines of exegesis suggested before by J. Bachmann,¹⁹ seems not to square with the habit of miswriting an unusual idea into the more customary train of thought: but **הַצֵּב** is naturally and constantly associated with **אֲבָנִים**. Does not the more difficult reading **בְּנִבְיָאִים** appear to deserve the benefit of doubt?

¹⁸ Defended by E. König, *Theologie des A. T.*⁴ 1924 p. 233 and Norbert Peters, *Osee und die Geschichte*, Paderborn 1924 p. 11 f. See however Julius Rieger, *Die Bedeutung der Geschichte für die Verkündigung des Amos und Hosea*, Giessen 1929, p. 75, n. 3.

¹⁹ *Präparationen zu den kleinen Propheten*, Heft 8: Hosea, Cap. I-VII, Berlin 1892, proposing as "freie Coniectur"; **הַצֵּבְתִּים כְּאֲבָנִים**. Cf. Luther's: "ich höfete sie durch die Propheten."

Still, the correct interpretation of the long misapprehended first verb constitutes a marked advance of critical reflection. One might assume that henceforth the solution of the enigmatic passage would be sought in the direction of Klostermann's surmise that in Hos 6, reference is made to the engraved stone-tablets of the decalogue.

At the time of its publication, however, the suggestion found little welcome. The supposition of a pre-prophetic date of the decalogue ran counter to the basic beliefs of the Wellhausenian era to an extent which prevented it from being taken seriously. If one be permitted to judge from the casual manner in which the conjecture was reported in a book-review²⁰, perhaps also from the absence of full signature,²¹ the author himself may not have been free from diffidence. B. Duhm's treatment of the verse, even though he does not mention Klostermann, reads very much like an official reply of the then dominant school of biblical research.²² He emends the verb in 5b to read *הוֹדִיעֵתִי*, and declares 5a to be a badly distorted gloss, incorporating an "interesting remark written on the margin by a reader: And so I wrote it before them in the Prophets writings."²³ The line of reasoning employed in dismissing the half verse is clear, though not stated: a reference to writings — prophetic, let alone earlier than the prophets — could only prove the spuriousness of the passage.

Even Ernst Sellin who in 1912²⁴ adopted Klostermann's so-

²⁰ of Franckh's *Die Prophetie in der Zeit vor Amos*, Gütersloh 1905 (Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie, IX).

²¹ Signed: A. K.; see Klostermann, *Der Pentateuch II* (Leipzig 1907) p. 578 f. Cf. also J. E. McFadyen, *The Mosaic Origin of the Decalogue*, in: *The Expositor* 12, 1916 p. 58.

²² *Bemerkungen zu den zwölf Propheten*, ZAW 31, 1911, p. 23.

²³ So in the English transl. of Duhm, *The Twelve Prophets* p. 95. In the German article, cited in the foregoing note, Duhm rejects 6_{5a} as a reader's "Anmerkung . . . wo jedoch das Verbum *hāṣab* unverständlich ist . . . Man kann etwa *hāḫḫōtī* oder *hā'idōtī* oder nach v. 5^b *hōṣē'tī* dafür lesen." Similarly Albrecht Alt, in: *Neue Kirchl. Zeitschr.* 30, 1919 p. 563, reading *hōda'tī*. H. Gressmann, *Die älteste Geschichtsschreibung und Prophetie Israels*², Göttingen 1921 p. 383 and p. 14 of the appended *Textkritische Anmerkungen*, reads with Duhm *hōṣē'tī* in the first verb and *hōda'tīkā* in the second, regards however the entire verse as authentic.

²⁴ *Der alttestamentliche Prophetismus* p. 37.

lution nearly a decade later ²⁵ also disposed of 6_{5a} as a marginal accretion. Scarcely a year afterward, ²⁶ however, in quest for Mosaic traditions in the prophetic literature, he reverts to the discarded hypothesis; but while retaining Klostermann's restoration of the second verb, he rejects as both unnecessary and unwarranted the emendation of *bann^ebî'im*:

hier ist alles in Ordnung. צָבָה, absolut gebraucht, heisst schon 'in Steine hauen' wie צָבָה ohne weiteres der Steinhauer ist, vgl. 1 Re 5₂₉ Esra 3₇; zur Sache vgl. Job 19₂₄. Wir haben also keinerlei Recht, das בְּנֵי־אִים zu beseitigen, diese waren vielmehr die Werkmeister, durch die Gott seinen Willen in Steine einhaute.

Even the plural *bann^ebî'im* is significant and registers an independent tradition which Sellin believes to trace in Ex 24₁ ff. ₉ ff. Nu 11₂₅ 12₆ and Hos 12₁₁, and which knew the seventy elders of Israel to have drawn, under the leadership of Moses, the will of God upon the stone-tablets.²⁷ This construction needs no refutation, because Sellin himself relinquished it three years later: ²⁸ "since Ex 24_{11, 15} speaks of Moses alone having been given the tablets of stone, the original version in Hos 6₅ must have been בְּנֵי which was corrupted later under the influence of 5b into a plural." After yet another three years,²⁹ Sellin abandoned the entire theory, — undoubtedly owing to his quite understandable zeal to find support for his newer thesis of an alleged martyrdom of Moses, slain by his own people in Šittîm, to which event our verse also is supposed to refer.³⁰ However the repeated reconsiderations of the verse also prove that neither he nor his followers were able to square the hy-

²⁵ In the first ed. of his Zwölfprophetenbuch, Leipzig 1921 p. 48 f. and 53: "Der Glossator bezog das Wort auf den Dekalog, ein späterer missverstand die 'Steine' und machte 'Propheten' daraus."

²⁶ Mose und seine Bedeutung für die israelitisch-jüdische Religionsgeschichte, Leipzig-Erlangen 1922 p. 34.

²⁷ ib., p. 35 and 38 f.

²⁸ Die geschichtliche Orientierung der Prophetie des Hosea, in Neue Kirchl. Zeitschr. 36, 1925, p. 628.

²⁹ Hosea und das Martyrium des Mose, ZAW 46, 1928 p. 33 and in Zwölfprophete-buch³ p. 66 ff.

³⁰ See W. Caspari, Neue Versuche geschichtswissenschaftlicher Vergewisserung über Mose, ZAW 42, 1924 p. 310 ff. and Julien Weill, Hosée XII₁₃-XIII₁ et le prétendu martyre de Moïse, REJ 87, 1929 p. 89-93. Karl Budde, ZAW 50, 1932 p. 300 ff. calls attention to a like hypothesis of Goethe about the death of Moses. The similar

pothesis about an allusion to the decalogue with the stubborn text.³¹

The supposition that *ḥāṣab*, used absolutely, denotes inscribing upon stone is fallacious and apparently influenced by the German similarity of term for quarrying (*Steine hauen*) and engraving in stone (in *Steine einhauen*). *Hāṣabtî* can mean hewing in a stone-quarry or hewing an inscription in the stone, but in Hebrew as in English it needs amplification. Ezra 3, to which Sellin refers, proves what needs no proof, that instead of the full and formal *l'ḥōṣēbê ḥā'eben u l'ḥārāšê ḥā'ēs* (II Re 12₁₂) one can, when the two crafts are mentioned together, without danger of misapprehension, use the shorter *la-ḥōṣēbîm w'leḥārāšîm*. At most it proves that one can call a mason or a quarryer *ḥōṣēb* (cf. the other reference of Sellin to I Re 5₂₉ where however the root is not used absolutely but has as complement *bā-hār*, i.e. quarries in the mountain). But there is not the remotest evidence for any other signification of the verb but *hew*. Hence in Job 19₂₄ to which Sellin also refers, *baṣ-ṣûr* is expressly added.³²

Furthermore, there remains the difficulty of the plural which could hardly now, after Sellin's own recantation, if ever, be defended by the doctrine of a 'charismatically inspired collegium of prophets'³³ as a team of writers of the decalogue. There

theory of Micha Josef bin Gorion (Berdyczewski) in his: *Sinai und Garizim*, Berlin 1926 where the thought is traced in rabbinic and later literature, seems to have escaped his notice. On the biblical researches of Berdyczewski cf. my *Hebrew Reborn*, New York 1930 p. 362 ff. and the literature cited on p. 464 f. to which now the two articles of Emanuel bin Gorion in: *Gedächtnisschrift zum zehnten Todestage von M. J. bin Gorion*, Berlin 1931 should be added.

³¹ See S. Mowinckel l.c. p. 53 whom this exegesis reminds of a Norwegian proverb: "Mieux vaut être mort que dans l'embarras."

³² *ḥāṣab* can mean to hew *out* (a well Dt 6₁₁ Jer 2₁₃, a vat Is 5₂, a grave ib. 22₁₆) or to hew *from* (a quarry Is 51₁) or to hew *with* (an ax Is 10₁₆) or to hew *in* (the rock Job 19₂₄) or to hew *through* (a tunnel, Siloam inscr. 1.4 and 6) but it never means, as the customary exegesis of Hos 6₅ is wont to assume, to hew *down* — not even in Is 51₁, where many emend since Houbigant as in Job 26₁₂. Deutero-Isaiah refers to the miracles and myths of cosmogony when the arm of god hewed *through* or split Rahab in twain and thus divided the floods of the great deep beneath the waters above the firmament (Gen 1₇ 7₁₁ 49₂₃ Dt 33₁₃). See Charles C. Torrey, *The Second Isaiah*, New York 1928 p. 400 and P. Volz, *Jesaja II*, Leipzig 1932, p. 119.

³³ Sellin, *Mose* etc. p. 39. N. Peters l.c. p. 21 labors to defend the plural as referring to Moses and Joshua cf. Jos 8₂₂ and Dt 27₃.

remains also the old query: the vexing 'al-kēn, hopelessly unrelated to 6₄, however interpreted. It is true, the trouble in both places can be if not explained, excised.³⁴ But the need of scissors can hardly commend the theory.

It would thus appear that the reference to the decalogue in Hos 6₅ has to be condemned as at best a *geistreicher Einfall* which cannot be substantiated by the text. But what is then the meaning of the baffling verse? ³⁵ Perhaps the study of the context can help to unveil its secret.

II

The *terminus a quo* of Hosea's prophecy is easily settled. 1₄ must have been uttered before the fall of the Jehu dynasty, i.e. before II Re 15₁₀. The lower limit of his work cannot so definitely be drawn. It has long been customary to deduce from the lack of allusion to the Syro-Ephraimitish war ¹ an earlier termination of his ministry.² But Albrecht Alt, as early as 1909,³ rightly doubted whether the paucity of transmitted speeches warrants the hazardous *argumentum ex silentio*. A

³⁴ Hans Schmidt, in: Sellin Festschrift p. 120; "Das עַל־כֵּן scheint mir nicht ursprünglich . . . Ich lese כִּנְיָנִי und ziehe das נ zum Folgenden: מִנִּי. Im Rest des Wortes dürfte stecken מִיִּנְיָנִי." See also notes 11, 12 and 23.

³⁵ Other attempts to explain the verse either resort to an arbitrary emendation of both verbs (see T. K. Cheyne ZAW 31, 1911 p. 315: "for the scarcely possible *h^aragtīm* read *gā'artī* and in the parallel line for *kāšabtī* read *kāšaftī*." If it be no misprint, *kāšabtī* is the postulated reading of the Septuagint, see introd. note 9) or to an *ad hoc* conjectured novel signification of *hāšab* (cf. Paul Joüon, Notes de critique textuelle, in: Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale, Université Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth, IV, 1910 p. 28 f.: "Chose étrange, la Bible qui est pleine de menaces prophétiques n'a pas de mot pour *menacer*!" The need is supplied by postulating the meaning of *threaten* for *hāšabtī*, while the second verb is emended to read correspondingly הוֹדַרְתִּים. It deserves mention, that Louis Ginzberg (in: Adolf Schwarz Festschrift, Vienna 1917 p. 353) suggests for the aram. הַצִּי 'impudent' the derivation from the Hebrew הַצִּב, citing not only as did Joüon נָצַח, but also צָרַח, which has in Syriac also the meaning of 'make bold.' In the recent third edition of Kittel-Kahle's Biblia Hebraica, Stuttgart 1933 p. 7, O. Procksch discards his previous explanation (see note 3) and reverts to Klostermann's emendation, although retaining the transfer of 5c to 6₃. For other attempts see introd. notes 7 and 10.

¹ II Re 16₅ ff. Is 7, 8, 9₂₀ 17.

² See S. R. Driver, Introd. to the Lit. of the O. T. New York 1923, p. 302; Harper l.c. p. cxli quoting Nowack, Marti et al.

³ Israel und Ägypten, p. 53.

decade later, having lived himself through a war and its sorry sequels,⁴ he was able by an ingenious feat of historical and topographical exegesis to detect in a group of Hoseanic oracles reference to the last phases of the Syro-Ephraimitish war and thereby to illumine a generally misconstrued and hence copiously corrected section Hos 5₈-6₆. Thus not only is the hastily assumed *terminus ad quem* proved to be wrong, but also the popular impeachment of references to Judah as the work of a late Judaistic interpolator⁵ has been, at least in that collection of prophecies, conclusively overthrown. As usually in such cases, the mention of Judah in 5_{10, 12, 13, 14}. 6₄ instead of being, as asserted, alien to the context and in need of emendation or deletion, turns out to be the clue to a proper understanding of the historical situation and to the time of composition of the chapters.⁶

We are fortunate in having, as rarely in ancient history, the account of two great contemporaries on both sides of the embattled frontier, commenting upon the shifting passions and fortunes of a war which meant for both winner and loser the beginning of the end. Judah in frantic fear appealed for foreign help and voluntarily surrendered her sovereignty,⁷ — an error of statesmanship deprecated in vain by Isaiah, who, when comparing it with the shortsighted loss of the northern kingdom,⁸ shows that he at once foresaw its disastrous consequences in the history of Judah; for this panicky action, which unnecessarily forfeited political and religious independence⁹ and gave to the Assyrian kings and their successors a legal claim to suzerainty over Judah, was to be the cause of all her subsequent restlessness and of the frequent insurrections which ultimately led to

⁴ See A. Alt, Hosea 5₈-6₆. Ein Krieg und seine Folgen in prophetischer Beleuchtung, in: Neue Kirchl. Zeitschr. 30, 1919 pp. 537-568.

⁵ Cf. Otto Seesemann, Israel und Juda bei Amos und Hosea, Leipzig 1898 p. 21 f. 31, and W. Baumgartner in Schweizer. Theol. Zeitschr. 30, 1913 p. 122 f.

⁶ Alt's thesis may be said to have won general acceptance. See R. Kittel, Gesch. d. Volkes Isr. vol. II^a p. 344, n. 3. H. Schmidt l.c. and Sellin's commentary³ p. 66 ff. Only Otto Procksch, Der Staatsgedanke in der Prophetie, Gütersloh 1933, p. 20 suggests an earlier date.

⁷ II Re 16₇.

⁸ Is 7₁₇.

⁹ II Re 16_{10ff}.

her fall.¹⁰ The northern tribes never recovered from the results of the Syro-Ephraimitish war. Exhausted by inner strife and opposing political factions,¹¹ following a vacillating foreign policy without definiteness of national purpose,¹² distracted by frequent palace revolutions lifting reckless usurpers, one after another, to the short occupancy of a bloodstained throne,¹³ driven finally, also through a grievous error of policy,¹⁴ to a mad revolt against Assyria and a war with their kinsfolk in the south, they suffered an overwhelming defeat, in consequence of which substantial parts of the country were severed from the motherland, their inhabitants carried into exile,¹⁵ and the proud kingdom of Israel reduced to the territory of Ephraim¹⁶ and to the rank of a petty vassal province of Assyria. God had deserted his people and permitted it to be rent and torn like a helpless prey, none coming to its rescue.¹⁷

That is the situation presupposed by the poem Hos 6₁₋₆. The prophet sees a people weak from the wounds of the recent war and its even more cruel aftermath (territorial losses, deportation, heavy tributes¹⁸), suffering the consequences of its guilt,¹⁹ unable to find a cure for its sores.²⁰ Will it again turn for easy solace to its ignorant priests²¹ with their selfish²² and uneducative²³ advice of more sacrifices and more altars?²⁴ Or to its

¹⁰ See Emil G. Kraeling, *The Immanuel Prophecy*, JBL 50, 1931 p. 279. For a defense of the course of action taken by Ahaz see Joachim Begrich, *Der Syrisch-Ephraimitische Krieg und seine weltpolitischen Zusammenhänge*, ZDMG 83, 1929 p. 213-237 and against it Karl Budde, *Jesaja und Ahaz*, ib. 84, 1930, p. 125-138 and Otto Procksch, *Jesaja I*, Leipzig 1930 p. 4 f., 118 f. Cf. also A. T. Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria*, New York 1931 p. 449 ff.; Mowinkel, in: *Acta Orientalia* 10, 1932 p. 182 ff.; B. Maisler, in: *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society* 1933 p. 1 ff.

¹¹ Hos 4₂ 6_{8f.} 10₄ Is 9_{19f.}

¹² Is 9_{10f.} Hos 5₁₃ 7_{8f.} 11.

¹³ Hos 7₄₋₇ 8_{4,10} 10_{3f.} 13_{10f.}

¹⁴ Cf. Hos 5₁₁ and Duhm ZAW 31, 1911 p. 23, endorsed by Alt l.c. p. 553.

¹⁵ II Re 15₂₉ Hos 5₁₄ Is 8₂₃ Jud 18₃₀.

¹⁶ However, the use of Ephraim for the remnant of old Israel can hardly be said to be "sicher nachweisbar erst seit der Deportation von Nord und Ost-Palästina durch Tiglat-Pileasar," G. Hölscher l.c. p. 213; H. Winckler in Ed. Schrader KAT³ Berlin 1902, p. 264, and Alt l.c. p. 554. Is 7_{2,5,9,17} 9_{8,20} 17₃ antedate the catastrophe of II Re 15₂₉.

¹⁷ Hos 5_{14f.}

¹⁸ Cf. II Re 15₃₀ 17₄ Hos 5₁₃.

¹⁹ Hos 5₁₅.

²⁰ Hos 5₁₃.

²¹ Hos 4₆ 5₁ 6₉ 10₅ Is 9₁₄.

²² Hos 4₈.

²³ Hos 4_{8,14}.

²⁴ Hos 4_{13,19} 5₆ 6₆ 8_{11,13} 9₄ 10_{1f,8} 12₁₂ 13₂.

misleading secular leaders ²⁵ with their fidgety quest of foreign alliances as rashly betrayed as concluded? ²⁶ Or will it, on the brink of death, rise from inner sloth and rot ²⁷ and gather once more the historic memories and forces which in the days of old had achieved its deliverance and made it one people, ²⁸ and which alone could now win back the lost provinces and unite the divided tribes ²⁹ and reestablish them as a free people — or in the language of Hosea, heal them? ³⁰ Will the people before they leap to disaster, discover at last that not outlandish corps or creeds, ³¹ but only the inner return ³² to the truths of the old faith could bring about the turn ³³ of fate and the longed-for recovery ³⁴ of Israel?

To restate the truths of the old faith is the prophet's purpose as the end of the poem clearly indicates: what is required of the people is *hesed* and *da'at* ³⁵ *'elôhîm* the want of which accounts for all the misfortunes ³⁶ and which cannot be replaced by assiduity of ritual or wealth of sacrifices. How should he bring home that message to a people, so sunk in wrong habits that even where it tries to escape, it reverts to them, ³⁷ and so accustomed to the primitive association of piety and temple offerings ³⁸ that even in distress it can but increase gifts with the increased need of help? How often has he preached to them the same truth only to find out that it remains alien to them! ³⁹ Even though the Lord may not delight in them, the people love

²⁵ Hos 5₁ 7_{3, 7.16} 8₄ 9₁₅ 13₁₀ Is 9₁₅.

²⁶ Hos 5₁₃ 7_{9.11} 8₉ 9₃ 10_{2.6} 11₅ 12₂ 14₄.

²⁷ Hos 5₁₂.

²⁸ Hos 2₁₇ 9₁₀ 11₁ 12₁₀ 13₆.

²⁹ Hos 2_{2.25} 3₅ 11_{10f.} 13₄ 14_{4ff.} Cf. W. Baumgartner, Kennen Amos und Hosea eine Heilseschatologie? in: Schweizerische Theol. Zeitschr. 30, 1913, p. 118 ff. 152 ff. and W. Caspari, in Neue Kirchl. Zeitschr. 41, 1931, p. 818 f.

³⁰ Hos 5₁₃ 6₁ 7₁ 11₃ 14₅.

³¹ Hos 14₄.

³² Hos 2₉ 3₅ 5₄ 6₁ 7_{10.16} 11₅ 12₇ 14_{2f.}

³³ Hos 6₁₁. Against the lately accepted derivation from שׁוּב (cf. E. L. Dietrich, Die endzeitliche Wiederherstellung bei den Propheten, Giessen 1925 p. 26, 36 f.) E. Baumann, ZAW 47, 1929 p. 27 f., 32 renews again the connection with שׁוּבָה.

³⁴ Hos 7₁.

³⁵ Hos 6₆ cf. also 2_{21 f.} 10₁₂ 12₇.

³⁶ Hos 4₁₋₃ 8₃.

³⁸ Hos 5₆.

³⁷ Hos 5₄.

³⁹ Hos 8₁₂.

the multitude of altars and sacrifices.⁴⁰ Not only for the revelry and feast that they provide: ⁴¹ "for the people will not eat until the seer comes, because he doth bless the sacrifice." ⁴² Only so consecrated the flesh of the sacrifices carries over literally into their bodies the healthbringing blessing of god. The ritual of the *bāmôt* thus satisfied an inveterate need of the human heart for a visible symbol of divine favor and forgiveness which even more than the showy pageants accounted, as Hosea must have understood, for the extraordinary fascination of the cult. If only he too could find in the ritual, which the people knew and loved, a *form* of communication which would help him to impress upon their minds the more serious demands which he so often taught in vain! If only he too could stir a sinner as deeply as the language of the cult, when refusing him access to the sanctuary and thus putting him in one class with the blind or the lame,⁴³ the unclean,⁴⁴ the castrate and the bastard!⁴⁵ If only he too could touch one to the quick, as unforgettably as when a man defiled or diseased is purged with hyssop⁴⁶ and admitted to the bliss of cult and community! After all, there are potentialities for good in the institutions of worship: if they remain unfruitful, the priests and not the people are to be blamed.⁴⁷

Hos 6₁₋₆ is a form of prophetic preaching borrowed from the customs of the cultus. It imitates the liturgy of penitential pilgrimages and the dramatic ritual of admission to the blessings of the sanctuary. Its language and allusions to the current observances were easily understood by the contemporary audience, but in a later era and another environment must be studied in the light of comparative material.

III

In ancient religions we often hear of precautions taken to bar the unfit and unworthy from entering the sacred sites. Naturally so, for he could invoke the wrath of the deity,

⁴⁰ Hos 8₁₁₋₁₃.

⁴³ II Sa 5₈ cf. Lev 21₁₈.

⁴⁵ Dt 23_{2f}.

⁴⁷ Hos 4_{4,14}

⁴¹ Hos 4₁₁ 9₁ 10₁.

⁴⁴ Lev 12₄ cf. also Thr 4₁₅.

⁴⁶ Ps 51₉ Nu 19₁₈ Lev 14_{6,49}.

⁴² I Sa 9₁₃.

imagined to dwell there, upon the whole assembly.¹ We read that Êsagila, the temple of Marduk in Babylon, possessed twelve gates with symbolic names, such as the Gate of the Bright Omen, the Gate of the Undoing of the Curse, the Gate of the Inquiry of the Mouth, the Gate of the Release from Lamentation and the Gate of the Cleansing Waters, through which the pilgrim had to pass in foreordained rites and prayers and confession of sin.² The second tablet of the magical *Šurpu* series³ reveals a regular catechism to which the worshipper seeking help seems to have been submitted: Has he angered one of the gods or slighted a goddess? dishonored father and mother or scorned an elder sister? for No, said Yes, for Yes, said No? used false balances or set deceitful landmark? approached his neighbor's wife, shed his blood, stolen his garment? lifted himself up against a superior? employed sorcery and witchcraft? and so forth. Similar practices tending to exclude from Egyptian shrines those who were considered ritually or morally delinquent, have been rightly inferred⁴ from the declaration of innocence which is thought to have been made by the dead at the threshold of the Hall of the Two Truths in which Osiris and the forty-two judges resided. As the hall mirrors the two administrative units of earthly Egypt, so may the *negative confession* of the dead echo the liturgy of the living: I have not done what the gods abhor; I have not accused a slave unto his master; I have not caused any one to be hungry; I have not caused any one to weep; I have not killed, nor ordered any one to kill; I have not stolen the loaves of the mummies; I

¹ See Lev 15₃₁ Nu 19_{13,20} about the danger of defiling the sanctuary.

² See the Babylonian parallel to the story of Job: "I will praise the lord of wisdom," cf. Hugo Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte zum A. T.* 2nd ed., Berlin 1926 p. 280; S. Langdon, *Babylonian Wisdom*, London 1923 p. 64; Lehmann-Haas, *Textbuch zur Religionsgeschichte*, Leipzig 1922 p. 315 f.; also R. Reitzenstein, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*, Bonn 1921 p. 157, 254 n. 3 and H. Zimmern, *ZDMG* 76, 1922 p. 49.

³ According to Albert Schott of Bonn (*ZDMG* 81, 1927 p. xlvii), dating from the Cossaeen era, viz. 1400-1100 B.C.; 'cf. W. F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible*, New York 1932 p. 167 f. See Gressmann l.c. p. 324 f. and R. W. Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the O. T.*, New York 1926 p. 170 ff.

⁴ Cf. Gressmann, *Die älteste Geschichtsschreibung* p. 231 and Kurt Galling, *Der Beichtspiegel*, *ZAW* 47, 1929 p. 130.

have not falsified the pointer of the scales; I have not taken away milk from the mouth of babes; I have not snared the birds of the gods; I have not dammed running waters; I have not hindered a god in his procession,⁵ etc. In the precincts of the temple of Apollo at Delphi a column stood inscribed with commands said to contain the regulations of the deity for its worshippers.⁶ The famous *γνῶθι σεαυτὸν* is an exhortation from the world of cult and not of philosophy,⁷ and is comparable to the inscriptions over Egyptian shrines:⁸ he that enters here be pure!

We know of similar admission requirement to the sanctuaries of ancient Israel. The regulations in Dt 23_{2f} Lev 21_{18ff.} were ancient observances as both the conservative bent of all cultus and II Sa 5₈ suggest. The stipulation in I Sa 21_{5f} illustrates well that abstinences and purifications as reported in Gen 35₂ Ex19_{10f. 15} were enjoined upon the visitors of the sanctuaries. But it is above all the psalter from which one gets a picture of an elaborate ritual of admittance to the shrine. Ps 24 portrays the dramatic *liturgy of entry* enacted before the portals: a chorus of pilgrims inquires about the regulations of access to the sanctuary,⁹ a chorus of priests describes the type of worshippers welcome,¹⁰ the pilgrims responding with an assurance of guiltlessness: such, as described, is the congregation that seeks now

⁵ Cf. chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead: Gressmann, *Altort. Texte*² p. 10 f.; Lehmann-Haas l.c. p. 273; Charles H. S. Davis, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead*, New York 1894 p. 135; E. A. W. Budge, *The Lit. of the Ancient Egyptians*, London 1924 p. 52. The term 'negative confession' is objected to by B. Gunn, *The Religion of the Poor in Ancient Egypt*, in: *Journ. of Eg. Archaeol.* 3, 1916 p. 81: "It is no 'confession' to persist through forty-two clauses that one has committed no conceivable sin."

⁶ Pseudo Dositheus 10: "Praecepta in Delphis ab Apolline in columna scripta." See H. Schmidt, *Mose und der Dekalog*, in: *Εὐχαριστήριον*, Gunkel Festschrift, Göttingen 1923, p. 113.

⁷ S. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien V*. Kristiania 1924 p. 58 and *Le Décalogue*, p. 150 f. Cf. the inscription of Astypalaia: [Ἔ]ς τὸ ἱερὸν μὴ ἐσέρπεν ὅστις μὴ ἀγνός ἐστι (*Ziehen, Leges Graec. Sacr.* II n. 123) as well as the other examples listed by Theod. Wächter, *Reinheitsvorschriften im griech. Kultus*, Giessen 1910 p. 6 ff. and Eugen Fehrle, *Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum*, Giessen 1910 p. 42 ff. 206 ff.

⁸ A. Erman, *Ägyptische Religion*², Berlin, 1909 p. 86.

⁹ Ps 24₃.

¹⁰ Ps 24_{4f.}

entrance to the holy site!¹¹ Now only, the declaration of innocence having been made, the gates of the courtyards are opened,¹² and the pilgrims enter with thanksgiving¹³ and are welcomed by priests from the temple hall.¹⁴ From Job 31 one can see that the confession of purity on the threshold of the sanctuary¹⁵ was hardly so brief as in Ps 24₆. Its form can be imagined from Dt 26_{13ff.} where before the request for benediction¹⁶ the visitor to the shrine states in a series of denials (reminiscent of the plea of innocence in the Egyptian Book of the Dead¹⁷) that he has not transgressed the injunctions which would otherwise bar him from the sanctuary:

לא עברתי ממצותיך
ולא שכחתי
לא אכלתי באני ממנו
ולא בערתי ממנו בשמא
ולא נחתי ממנו למת

The formulary as well as the sequence of the purity oath preceding the appeal for blessing portrays a fundamental custom of Hebrew worship.

It has long been observed¹⁸ that Ps 15, another priestly instruction about the entrance regulations of the sanctuary, enumerates ten commands which would suggest the custom of

¹¹ Ps 24₆, see Galling l.c. p. 129. R. Kittel, *Die Psalmen*⁶ Leipzig 1929 p. 95 puts also v. 6 in the mouth of the priest. See the description by Gunkel, *Die Psalmen*, Göttingen 1926 p. 102 f. 48 ff. and in ZAW 42, 1924 p. 193 ff. where also the definition of 'liturgy' as a composite literary genre will be found.

¹² Ps 118₁₉ Is 26₂, see Gunnar Hylmø, in: *Lunds Universitets Årsskrift* 25, 1929, No. 5, contended against by Wilhelm Rudolph, *Jesaia* 24-27, Stuttgart 1933 p. 35 ff.

¹³ Ps 100₄.

¹⁴ Ps 118₂₆. About the rabbinic traditions as to the choral arrangements of the psalm, see A. Büchler, *Zur Geschichte der Tempelmusik und der Tempelpsalmen*, ZAW 20, 1900 p. 124 f.

¹⁵ Joh. Hempel, *Gott und Mensch im A. T.* Stuttgart 1926 p. 6, and *Die israelitischen Anschauungen von Segen und Fluch im Lichte altorientalischer Parallelen*, ZDMG 79, 1925 p. 97. See also his *Die althebräische Literatur* p. 72.

¹⁶ Dt 26₁₅. See Gressmann, *Die ält. Geschichtsschr.*² p. 230 and Hempel, l.c. ZDMG 1925, p. 101.

¹⁷ See note 5. Cf. also Ps 131_{1f.}

¹⁸ H. Ewald, *Dichter des alten Bundes*³ Göttingen 1866, vol. I, 2 p. 20; Kautzsch-Bertholet, *Hl. Schrift. des A. T.*⁴ Tübingen 1923 II p. 134; Mowinkel, *Le Décalogue*, p. 146.

formulating the essential observances in a number that could be counted on one's fingers and thus more easily committed to memory. The moral catechism in Ez 18_{5 ff.}¹⁹ seems to indicate a similar preference for the symbolic number twelve (cf. Dt 27_{15 ff.}). But it was reserved for Sigmund Mowinckel to discover that there is a connection, not merely stylistic, but also genetic, between the decalogues or dodecalogues and the *tôrôt* of entry or the sacerdotal regulations about access to the sanctuary.²⁰

Mowinckel's other thesis, confining the recital of the decalogues in the cult to the liturgy of the new year or autumn festival²¹ only, seems less convincing, whatever we think about the occasions in cultus of Ps 50 and 81 in which the references to the decalogue are unmistakable.²² The formula of epiphany²³ is not to be restricted to the one feast of throne-ascension²⁴ or renewal of alliance, but is an archaic and customary style of law promulgation, not confined to Hebrew antiquity.²⁵ It is employed repeatedly by Hosea in utterances hardly belonging to the autumn festival as Hos 12 is sometimes, though not convincingly, interpreted.²⁶ To suppose that the clergy of the ancient shrines, restricted instruction on their *leges sacrae* to one annual occasion only would be to credit them with little pedagogic wisdom. Nor does Mowinckel himself limit the

¹⁹ Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien* V. p. 116.

²⁰ *Le Décalogue* p. 141 ff.

²¹ Their identification has been suggested by P. Volz, *Das Neujahrfest Jahwes*, Tübingen 1912 p. 12 ff. and *Die biblischen Altertümer*, Stuttgart 1914 p. 99 f.; Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien* II. *Das Thronbesteigungsfest Jahwäs und der Ursprung der Eschatologie*, Kristiania 1922 p. 83 ff.; Hans Schmidt, *Die Thronfahrt Jahwes am Fest der Jahreswende im alten Israel*, Tübingen 1927 p. 25 ff. See Julian Morgenstern, *The Three Calendars of Ancient Israel*, *HUCA* I 1924 p. 22 ff. and ib. III, 1926, p. 77 ff.

²² *Sukka* 55a prescribes indeed their use for the feast of tabernacles.

²³ Ex 20₂ Dt 5₆ Ps 50₇ 81₁₁.

²⁴ See H. Gunkel, *Einleitung in die Psalmen*, Göttingen 1928, p. 100 ff. and Otto Eissfeldt, *Jahwe als König* *ZAW* 46, 1928 p. 81-105.

²⁵ See Lev 19_{2 ff} 12₁ 14_{ff} and the many examples from oriental and classical antiquity in E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, Leipzig 1913 p. 207 ff., cf. also the pertinent correction of Gressmann, *ZAW* 34, 1914 p. 286: "Der Dekalog hat eine ältere Stufe des Stiles bewahrt als der Kodex Hammurapi."

²⁶ Hos 12₁₀ 13₄. See Harry Torczyner, *Die Bundeslade und die Anfänge der Religion Israels*, Berlin 1930 p. 52 n. 77 and p. 54.

liturgy of entry solely to the Jerusalemite festival.²⁷ Besides, Ps 81, mentioning Israel along with Joseph²⁸ as the Judean psalms Israel with Judah,²⁹ suggests northern origin. It would thus tend to show that in the quite elaborate worship³⁰ of the homeland of Hosea reference was made to the decalogues.³¹

The exhortation in Ps 50 gives a good idea of the employment of the decalogues in the cult of the sanctuaries. Human nature being what it is, where was the assurance that the plea of blamelessness entered by the visitors at the gates was entirely sincere? The rites and lustrations demanded by the cult³² could be easily supervised by the personnel of the shrine, not so the moral obligations stipulated in the *tôrôt* of entry. Their silence about ritual requirements does not mean, as is so often assumed, that these are derogated or rejected, but rather that they are presupposed as self-evident and as easily enforced by the priesthood of the site:³³ the ethical commands, because uncontrollable, needed enhanced emphasis. If the questionnaire of sins submitted before the gates was not answered truthfully, some undesirables may have stolen in, and to them the expostulation in Ps 50_{15 ff.} is addressed: How darest thou to mumble my behests and mouth my covenant? Seeing that

²⁷ Psalmenstudien V, p. 76, 103. About the date of the festival, or rather of its interpretation as the throne ascension holiday, Mowinckel has changed his mind in the meantime, relinquishing "mindestens die älteste Königszeit" (Ps. St. II, p. 203, cf. the references to Hos 7₆, ib. p. 43, 190) as an error ("Nachwirkung der chronologischen Irrtümer der 'religionsgeschichtlichen Schule'!"); see his *Der Ursprung der Bileamsage*, ZAW 48, 1930 p. 267, n. 3. He now accepts with A. von Gall, *Βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ*, Heidelberg 1926, p. 21 both the late date ("späteste Königszeit") and the influence of the Babylonian cultus. See, however, O. Eissfeldt, *Baal Zaphon*, Halle 1932 p. 21 f. about the likelihood of north Syrian rather than Babylonian origin.

²⁸ Ps 81_{5, 6}.

²⁹ Cf. Ps 76₂ 114₂.

³⁰ Cf. Hos 2₁₃, also Am 5₂₃.

³¹ Ps 81₀₋₁₁. Cf. Gunkel, *Psalmen* p. 359 and Max Haller, *Ein Jahrzehnt Psalmenforschung*, in: *Theol. Rundschau* I, 1929 p. 398. The postexilic date of Ps 81 postulated by Mowinckel, Ps. St. II p. 87 and *Le Déc.* p. 138 f. is very unlikely, as Mowinckel himself inadvertently admits cf. Ps. St. II p. 191.

³² E.g. practices such as in Ex 3₆ 30₁₉ Ps 26₆ retained until this day in the synagogue, cf. b. *Soṭa* 39^a and 40^a.

³³ Hence the danger, if not error in the prevalent assumption of late origin, on the ground of 'prophetic' influence in psalms that do not mention or stress the elements of cultus.

thou hatest discipline and castest my words behind thee! When thou hast consented with thieves, and hast been a partaker with adulterers, and givest thy tongue to evil — when away from here!³⁴

To exclude from the benefits of worship the culprit or heretic is common concern of all cults and leads ultimately to some such means as the *Bulla in coena domini*³⁵ in the Roman church or the ברכת המינים³⁶ in the synagogue which made participation in worship highly unpleasant to the disobedient or dissenter. This would appear to be the connection, often noticed but differently interpreted, between the commination liturgy³⁷ in Dt 27_{15 ff.} and the decalogue.

I should like to suggest still another occasion in the cult for making mention of the decalogue which an incongruity of language in the liturgies of entry, frequently observed but never quite satisfactorily explained, seems to indicate. In both Ps 15₁ and 24₃ inquiry is made about the rules of admission to the shrine, so that one would expect in the answer (Ps 15₅ and 24₅) some direct reference to the point in question such as יַעֲלֶה בְּהַר יְהוָה or עֲשֵׂה אֱלֹהִים יְגֹר בְּאַהֲלֶיךָ. That this was indeed the original form of the *tōrā* of entry, is not only suggested by the fondness of litanies for repetition rather than for variation, but is actually demonstrated by the prophetic imitation of the liturgy of entry in Is 33: here הוּא יִשְׁכֵּן answers the parallel מִי יִגֹּר³⁸. In the psalms however the answer is obviously reminiscent of

³⁴ Note the allusion to Ex 20_{14,15,16} = Dt 5₁₇, and of course in Ps 50₇ to Ex 20₂ = Dt 5₆.

³⁵ Mowinckel, *Psalmestudien* V, p. 69, 79

³⁶ Bērākōt 28^b.

³⁷ Cf. Adam C. Welch, *Deuteronomy*, London 1932 p. 126. Eduard Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, Halle a. S. 1906, p. 557 argues for the priority of the formulae of ban and blessing uttered at the great festival at Shechem and sees in them an archetype of the decalogue. See also Robert H. Pfeiffer, *The Oldest Decalogue*, JBL 43, 1924, p. 309 f.; Hempel l.c. 99; Mowinckel, *Ps. St. V*, p. 111, reconsidered in his *Le Décalogue* p. 134 ff.

³⁸ See vs. 14 and 16 and Gunkel, *Jes 33*. Eine prophetische Liturgie, ZAW 42, 1924, 177 ff. Still another *tōrā* of entry seems to be preserved in Ps 101, as has been repeatedly argued by Budde, *Exp. Times* 8, 1897, p. 202 ff. and ZAW 35, 1915 p. 191 f. and is now partly conceded by Mowinckel *Ps. St. VI*, 1924, p. 33, n. 2. See esp. vs. 2^b [cf. Lev. 16₂] 6^{cd} and 7.

the formulae of sacerdotal benediction.³⁹ Conditioned blessings are known to have existed in the Hebrew cultus and Ps 15 and 24 would suggest that they were more comprehensive than in Ps 128₄. On the basis of Lev 9_{22f}, Jos 22₇ II Sa 6₁₈ (1 Chr 16₂) I Re 8_{54f}. (II Chr 6₃) Sir 50_{21f}, one would conjecture that the adjournment of the cultic convocation is their *Sitz im Leben*. The priestly benediction Ps 134 stands not by mere chance at the very end of the series of שירי המעלות: it concludes the festival. The priest's apostrophe to the cult-participants would also explain the second person singular in the decalogue which is the standing rule in the formula of sacerdotal blessing.⁴⁰ The fashion of Hebrew law to conclude with promises of benediction⁴¹ would also echo the cultic custom.

It would seem to us that Ps 15₅ and 24₅ suggest the existence of a liturgy of נעילה שער, of which the Mishna reports that it was accompanied by a priestly benediction.⁴² Before the portals closed and the pilgrims left the sacred site, a similar dramatic rite as performed in the liturgy of entry may have taken place. Once more a choir of priests impressed upon the departing worshippers the essential requirements of the cultus whose observance would ensure the benediction of the deity with which the song concluded.⁴³

³⁹ Kittel, Psalmen⁶ p. 47 and 95.

⁴⁰ Cf. Nu 6_{24f}, Jer 31₂₃ Ps 27₁₄ 91_{3ff}, 121_{5ff}, 128₅ 134₃. Against Galling, l.c. p. 127 f. who connects the decalogue with the *Beichtspiegel*.

⁴¹ Dt 7_{12ff}, 28_{1ff}.

⁴² Ta'anit iv, 1. One could term correspondingly the liturgy of entry פתיחת שער, cf. Is 26₂ Ps 118₁₉ and Mishna Sukka V, 5. See also Julian Morgenstern, The Gates of Righteousness, HUCA vol. vi, 1929 p. 36 f. where Pss 24 and 118 are interpreted in connection with the solemn opening of the eastern gate of the temple on the two annual equinoctial days.

⁴³ Galling l.c. p. 128 f. assumes that the wording of Pss 15 and 24 "zeigt bereits den Loslösungsprozess vom Kultus" as argued by him also for the second person singular of the decalogue, see above, note 40. Mowinkel, Le Déc. p. 134 ff. having changed his view about the genesis of the decalogues from cultic bans and benedictions, rescinds his former agreement with Kittel in Ps. St. V, p. 60 and explains Ps 24₅ "recevoir la bénédiction" est, d'après le sens, synonyme de 'monter à la montagne de Yahvé' pour y recevoir les bienfaits que procure le culte" (Le Déc. p. 142). But his translation 'recevoir' attenuates the meaning of נושא מן to carry away from, cf. Ju 21₂₃ I Sa 17₃₄ Cant 5₇ also Hos 5₁₄ and Dan 1₁₆. מאת seems perhaps also to presuppose departure from before the deity, cf. Gen 26₃₁ and 27₃₀. ברכה may also carry the connotation of a (parting) gift as in II Re 5₁₅ ברכה מאת, the two verbs being synonymously

In other words, Ps 15 and 24 would thus appear to contain *two texts*, one for the liturgy of entry to the sanctuary⁴⁴ and one for the liturgy of departure,⁴⁵ here recorded in epitome for the sake of economy in writing which is known to have been a frequent consideration with the ancients.⁴⁶ The liturgist knew of course that in the one case (entry), the relevant reply to the question about admittance to the sanctuary is to be given in Ps 15₅ or 24₅ and that in the other case (departure), the refrain is to be repeated in Ps 15₁ and 24₃ and thus the songs were suited to their respective cultic occasions.

However that may be, all the other passages discussed furnish the evidence that in the cultus of the ancient Hebrews reference was made on several occasions to the decalogue or dodecalogues, and the archaic character of Ps 24⁴⁷ would indicate a very

used cf. the idiom לָקַח or נָשָׂא אִשָּׁה and Ps 24₅ = Gen 27_{35f.}: "he has taken away thy blessing." Translate therefore in the psalm also: he shall carry away (i.e. take home) a blessing from the Lord.

That the wording in Ps 15₅ is not apposite for the cultic situation of entry to the sanctuary, is obvious. For its connection with the formula of priestly blessing, see Ps 55₂₃ and 121₃, where the second person sing. characteristic of the priestly benediction (see note 40) must not be emended; hence more correctly in Mowinckel, Ps. St. II, 1922, p. 171 than in Ps. St. V, 1924, p. 49 which misled also Gunkel, Psalmen, p. 541 despite his better knowledge ib. p. 177 and 238; correctly Kittel, Psalmen⁶, p. 390. See also Ps 21₈ clearly anticipating the following benediction or oracle, as Mowinckel himself has noticed (Ps. St. III, 1923, p. 76); comp. also Ps 15₅ and 112₆ or 24₅ and 112₃ where the sacerdotal בָּרוּךְ has faded into the didactic אָשִׁירָה.

⁴⁴ Ps 15₁, 24₃ which would read: Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord? etc. He that hath clean hands, etc. He shall ascend into the hill of the Lord, he shall stand in His holy place. Similarly also Ps 15.

⁴⁵ Ps 15₅, 24₅: Who shall carry away a blessing from the Lord and strength from the God of his salvation? He that hath clean hands etc. He shall carry away a blessing from the Lord etc. Similarly in Ps 15. For *ṣ-dāḳā*, strength, victory, success, prosperity cf. Is 45_{8,24} 54₁₇ Pr 8₁₈.

⁴⁶ Cf. the biblical portions or codices written בְּסִיּוּנֵי (b. Yoma 38^a, cf. Yer. Meg. II 2 f. 73^a and F. Perles, *Analekten*, München 1895 p. 8 f.) and preserved in the Genizah of Cairo, see P. Kahle, *Masoreten des Westens*, Stuttgart 1930, vol. II p. 88 ff. See also the recent suggestions of I. W. Slotki, *Typographic Arrangement of Ancient Hebrew Poetry*, ZAW, 1931, p. 211 ff. and on Ps 24 in: JBL 51, 1932, p. 214 ff., also James A. Montgomery, *Notes on the Mythological Epic Texts from Ras Shamra*, Philadelphia 1933, p. 4 (= JAOS v. 53, p. 100).

⁴⁷ Ewald, Delitzsch, more recently Staerk and Kittel thought of the days of David (II Sa 6_{12ff}) which is objected to by Gunkel p. 104: "aus *sehr alter Zeit* . . . , immerhin dürfen wir nicht an die Zeit Davids oder Salomos denken, da der Tempel schon als 'uralte' gilt." See however Ps 110₄ Jer 17₁₂ about continuity of pre-Israelitish memories

early origin of the custom.⁴⁸ At any rate, the prophetic imitation in Mi 6_{6ff.} of the *tōrā* of entry proves that the latter institution was completely developed before, if not long before the fall of Samaria.⁴⁹ Its existence may thus be regarded as certain in the generation of Hosea.

The liturgy of penitential days which Hos 6₁₋₆ seems to echo is better known, for it is often described in the bible. Defeat or any other calamity denoted to ancient Israel the displeasure of God who must be appeased, if the people is to succeed again.⁵⁰ Penance must be proclaimed.⁵¹ A trumpet is blown⁵² and the whole community, often with their children, women and aged,⁵³ is called upon to make a pilgrimage to the sanctuary — for fasting and mourning,⁵⁴ weeping and wailing,⁵⁵ rending of raiment⁵⁶ and girding with sackcloth,⁵⁷ bowing down the heads

of the site, or cf. Harry Torczyner l.c. p. 41 and 63 who sees here reference to the heavenly abode. Ps 24₁₀ (cf. II Sa 6₂) and כְּבוֹד in Ps 24_{7ff.} (cf. I Sa 4_{21f.} I Re 8₁₁) suggest to most scholars the existence of the ark, and hence certainly preexilic date; Mowinkel, Ps. St. II p. 190 f.; ib. V p. 60; Le Déc. p. 151. Gunkel l.c. rightly dismisses Stade's eschatological interpretation (in his: *Akademische Reden* 1899 p. 70) renewed JBL 52, 1933 p. 175 ff.

⁴⁸ The oldest worship of the synagogue included the decalogue (see Tamid V, 1 and Ismar Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst*, Frankf. a. M. 1924 p. 24) which was later in days of primitive Christianity omitted: cf. Yer. Berakot I, 8 f. 3^c; b. Berakot f. 12^a.

⁴⁹ Cf. Mi 1_{6ff.} and Sellin, *Zwölfprophetenbuch*³ p. 306 ff. Mowinkel, Le Déc. p. 152, citing his *Jesajadisplene*, Oslo 1926 p. 141 f. denies the genuineness of Mi 6-7, assigning it to an Isaiah disciple in the days of Manasseh. On the other hand, Is 33 is postulated l.c. p. 151 f. to antedate the exile and reach back to the Assyrian era (cf. also his "Die Komposition des Jesaiabuches," in: *Acta Orientalia* XI, 1933 p. 280, but also p. 284 and 290), while Gunkel ZAW 42, 1924 p. 177 f. thinks of the early fifth cent., Buhl, *Jesaia*² 1912 p. 430 of the later Persian period, Procksch, *Jesaia* I p. 425 of about 300 B.C., still later Duham, *Jesaia*³ p. 214 and Julius A. Bewer, *The Literature of the O. T.* p. 422 f. In any case, the ritual of entry is to be regarded according to Mowinkel l.c. p. 152 also as certainly completed "au plus tard vers 700 avant J.-Chr.; mais il peut aussi être sensiblement plus ancien."

⁵⁰ Cf. Jos 7₆ Jud 20₂₆ 21₂ I Sa 7₆ I Re 8₃₃.

⁵¹ I Re 21_{9,12} Jer 36₉ Joel 1₁₄ etc.

⁵² Joel 2₁₅.

⁵³ I Sa 7₅ Joel 2₁₆ Jon 3₅ Ezra 8₂₁ II Chr 20₁₃.

⁵⁴ Esth 4₃.

⁵⁵ Hos 7₁₄ Is 22₁₂.

⁵⁶ Jos 7₆ Joel 2₁₃.

⁵⁷ Jer 4₈ Jon 3_{5f.} Ps 35₁₃.

as bulrushes ⁵⁸ and rolling in dust and ashes: ⁵⁹ who knoweth, perhaps God will turn from his fierce anger, and repent, and leave a blessing behind him.⁶⁰

The physical afflictions of such days were accompanied in ancient Israel not only by sacrifices,⁶¹ but also by an inner search for the sinful individual or for the guilt of the community which must have kindled the wrath of God.⁶² The people's paths and practices were tested and tried and turned again unto God,⁶³ and hearts — not only garments — were rent in penitent self-examination.⁶⁴ The exhortations in the liturgy enacted in the case of a locust invasion and preserved in the book of Joel, the *דְּבָרֵי כְבוֹשָׁן* or admonitions to penitence reported in Tannaitic writings,⁶⁵ and the *בְּרָכוֹת וְקִלְלוֹת* ⁶⁶ read up to the present time on fast days in the synagogue, are of ancient usage. A scrupulous check of the requirements of the cultus, always made when one sought entrance to the sanctuary, was in days of distress especially imperative. For the 'breach' or disaster of the people showed that 'infringement' had been made on the fundamental forces which uphold the community and ensure its *šālôm*, its wholeness or wholesomeness, its peaceful and prosperous growth. The disturbed relation with the deity must be restored, his *mišpāt* or conditions of healthful and blessed life reestablished.⁶⁷ That is the purpose of the penance proclaimed just as the maintenance of the harmony of the covenant ⁶⁸ is in general the purpose of all Hebrew cultus.

⁵⁸ Is 58₅ Mi 6₄ Ps 69₁₁ cf. Margolis, ZAW 31, 1911, p. 314.

⁵⁹ Jer 6₂₆ Neh 9₁.

⁶⁰ Joel 2₁₄ Jon 3₉.

⁶¹ To which reference is made in Hos 6₆, see also Ju 20₂₆ 21₄ 1 Sa 7₉ Jer 14₁₂. Is 1₁₁ and Mi 6_{7f}. (cf. 2 Re 16₃ and Is 7₂) are often interpreted as presupposing the frantic sacrifices in days of calamity.

⁶² See 1 Sa 14_{38ff} or II Sa 21₁₋₁₄.

⁶³ Thr 3₄₀.

⁶⁴ Joel 2₁₃.

⁶⁵ Mišna Ta'anit II 1, Tos. ib. I 8, all old customs. cf. e.g. the *קָל* and 1 Re 21_{9,12}.

⁶⁶ i.e. Lev. 26 and Dt 28, cf. Miš. Megilla III 6, Tos. ib. IV 9. The custom of reading on historic fast days the sections Ex 32_{11ff} and 34_{1ff} prefacing the so-called cultic dodecalogue dates from geonic times, see Elbogen l.c. p. 164.

⁶⁷ Johs. Pedersen, Israel, London 1926 p. 349. On the primary meaning of *mišpāt* cf. Ludwig Köhler, Die hebräische Rechtsgemeinde, Zürich 1931 p. 9.

⁶⁸ See the use of *šālôm* and *berith*, words of different origin and scope, yet employed interchangeably I Re 5₂₆ Ps 55₂₁; Pedersen l.c. p. 285.

IV

Hosea 6₁₋₆ is a poetic reproduction of the liturgy of such penitential fasts. A psalm of pilgrims,¹ sung on the way to the sanctuary,² portrays the misery of the sorely smitten people. Weary of its professional curers and comforters, with their quack remedies and paid cries: peace! when there is no peace, it now asserts itself to be willing to return to him who alone can bind up the breach of his people and heal its wound.³ It wants to know, even eagerly to strive to know,⁴ the demands of God or the duties of the good life. But where others would cry out in lament and plaint, our psalm voices confidence in the mercy and power of God who surely as the rising day or the quickening rain, will resuscitate the prostrate nation. It is thus a *song of trust*, a genre of psalms which grew out of the more frequent and wailful *Klagelieder*.⁵

The misinterpreted verse 6₅, often construed as a threat or rebuke, brought both older and recent critics to seek in the folk-psalm the cause of God's impatience. Thus the song of pilgrims was rendered to convey the easy assurance and optimism of a light-hearted people,⁶ hopeful of procuring divine help

¹ Clearly recognizable by its first words, cf. I Sa 9, Is 2₃ = Mi 4₂ Ps 95₁.

² Comp. the use of שָׁמַח here and in 14₃ with I Re 8₃₃ Joel 2₁₂ Thr 3₄₀ Is 9₁₂ = שָׁמַח יְהוָה, 2 Chr 20₃ Ps 78₃₄ = שָׁחַר as in Hos 5₁₅, cf. also 7₁₀ and 56₁₅; and perhaps 7₁₄ 8₂ and 6₃, though in the latter passage not altogether in the narrower cultual, but wider religious, ethical or legal sense as in 4₁, cf. Jer 22₁₆, as often the best commentator of Hos! See now also Krause, ZAW 50, 1932 p. 238 ff. who rendering Am 4_{6ff.} 5₄ too literally as a call to the worship in Zion only (Am 1₂) makes him a precursor of Ps 87₂.

³ For the use of פָּנָה misconstrued by H. Schmidt l.c. p. 121, cf. Is 30₂₆ Jer 6₁₄ (81₁) 30₁₇ Thr 2₁₃ 2 Chr 7₁₄ 30₂₀ et fr.

⁴ So rightly interpreted by the rabbis, b. Berakot 6^b. The words need not be emended (against Sellin³ p. 72) nor interpreted as portraying shallow or sham repentance, against Ewald, G. A. Smith et al., also David Rosin, in Zunz Jubelschrift, Berlin 1884 p. 54.

⁵ Gunkel, Psalmen, p. 16, 114, 548 and Einl. p. 131. Characteristic of the *Vertrauenspsalm* is the third person and the jussive instead of the direct apostrophe and imperative of prayer cf. Ps 3, 4, 11, 23, 27, 62 or Mi 7_{7ff.}

⁶ Only the "want of connection between the prayer and what follows it," as G. A. Smith l.c. p. 264 admirably states, earned for the poem 6₁₋₃ the designation of a *Leichtsinnspsalm* and for the faith expressed therein the censure: "Leichtglaube ohne sittliches Gewicht," see Procksch, l.c.; Paul Humbert, Osée le prophète bédouin, Revue d'hist. et de philos. relig. 1, 1921 p. 116 f.; Harper l. c. p. 280, 283 et al. As soon as the prophetic rejoinder 6_{4ff.} is detached, as is wrongly done by Lindblom l. c. p. 82, the easy religiousness of the psalm is gone.

in two or three days⁷ of feigned or facile repentance. Wellhausen quotes the ironical comment of Demosthenes about the fickle Athenians who believed that in a couple of days, if they but willed it, all would become well again.⁸ Similarly foreign to the entire tenor of the psalm is Baudissin's⁹ assumption that Hosea used here a motif of the foreign but favorite fertility cult, centering in the worship of the vegetation deity resurrected on the third day after its death. Rightly enough such reference to Adonis or Osiris was found¹⁰ to be very unlikely in a penitential psalm meant to reaffirm allegiance to the god of the fathers; and the alleged irony of Hosea charging his fitful people with reverting even in a moment of remorse to the symbolism of its popular idol-worship,¹¹ appears strained rather than subtle. Nor is it necessary to take recourse to a quaint superstition said to survive in present-day Arab folk-life and to be alluded to in Ezra 8₃₂ Neh 2₁₁ and Ex 19_{11, 16} according to which abstention from action for a period of three days is held to ensure good luck.¹² What is meant is simply the duration of the fast, as the similar interval in Esth 4₁₆ 5₁¹³ and ancient cus-

⁷ This translation is erroneous as is also the reference to II Re 9₃₂ Am 4₈ Is 17₆ (against Wellhausen, G. A. Smith, Harper et al.). The numbers do not express vaguely, as in the above parallels: in two, three days, but specify exactly one definite date: after two days, on the third day. The preposition ב has the force of בְּיָמָיו cf. Gen. 4₃ and Jud 11₄ etc., and the use of the asyndeton is more frequent in Hos than in any other book of the O. T.

⁸ Kleine Propheten³ p. 116.

⁹ Adonis und Esmun, Leipzig 1911 p. 409 f.; cf. also Humbert, l.c. p. 117; Julius Rieger l.c. p. 93 and H. G. May, The Fertility Cult in Hosea AJSL 48, 1932, p. 75 where Hos 5₁₃₋₆ is conceived as a unit and called "a satire on the normal cult reaction."

¹⁰ See H. Schmidt l.c. p. 121 f.

¹¹ Sellin³ p. 72.

¹² Hans Schmidt and Paul Kahle: Volkserzählungen aus Palästina, Göttingen 1918, 115, 16; 203, 8. H. Schmidt l.c. p. 122.

¹³ Gen. i. § 56 and 91 interprets our scripture quite correctly when drawing therefrom and from examples of biblical history the assurance: לעולם אין הקב"ה מנח את הצדיקים בצרה ג' ימים. The difficult passage in Am 4₄ may contain the similar customary duration of pilgrimages to Bethel and Gilgal, if the prophet is describing, in an ironical vein, the offerings brought *on the morning* after arrival at the sanctuary and the large gifts left *on the third day*, before the parting benediction. *Every morning or every third day*, as the passage is sometimes rendered, would seem to require either the plural (Ps 73₁₄) or the repetition (I Chr 9₂₇). See Nowack ad loc. and Harper l.c. p. 92 ff. 94. Cf. also Ex 19_{10 f. 16} cited by Schmidt l.c. who mentions as possible also the interpretation of Hos 6₂ in the simpler sense of duration of penance. Gen. 42₁₈ Jos 2₁₆

toms of mourning,¹⁴ always allied with the rites of penance,¹⁵ clearly show. After two days of sitting or lying upon the earth, as the ritual required, the pilgrims expect on the third day to be raised¹⁶ from the floor and to be refreshed, or in Hebrew, revived¹⁷ by a hearty meal. Such a joyous conclusion of the penitential fast in which the raising up and invigoration of the worshippers symbolized victory over death and disease and the recovery of the people,¹⁸ is here anticipated in the trustful psalm of the pilgrims.

The imagery of the awakening morning, retained also in the prophetic rejoinder 6_{4t} and hence hardly accidental,¹⁹ would permit of two interpretations of the cult situation presupposed by the poem. On the basis of Is 30₂₉ it might be suggested that the pilgrims arrive at the sanctuary when the morning dawns; or else that they expect the sacrament of forgiveness on the third day at sunrise. In the first case, the answer of the prophet

I Re 12₅ Jon 2₁ Ezr 8₁₅ 10_{6.8.9}. would show the popularity of the interval in folk-tale, custom and cult. Cf. ἀγνεύσας ἡμέρας τρεῖς (Kenyon, Greek pap. I, 1893, p. 108) and other parallels quoted by E. Fehrle l.c. p. 157.

¹⁴ See Midraš Tanhuma, מקץ ad Gen 42₁: ילמדנו רבנו אבל עד כמה ימים הוא . . . אם היה עני מדוקדק יעשה מלאכה לאחר שלשה ימים אסור בעשיית מלאכה . . . cf. also b. Mo'ed kaṭan 21^b or else Gen. r. § 50 ad 50₁₀ (corrected but seldom by the identical versions Lev. r. § 18 ad 15₁, Eccl. r. § 12 ad 12₆, Yer. Mo'ed kaṭan III 82^b, Yer. Yebamot XVI 15^c, b. Šabbat 151^b): אם היה עני מדוקדק ביום הראשון ובשני אינו עושה מלאכה ובשלישי הוא עושה בצניעה . . . בר קפרא אומר אפילו בשלישי לא יעשה כל עיקר . . . עד ג' ימים תקפו של אבל . . . שעדיין צורת הפנים ניכרת . . . עד תלתא יומין נפשא טייסא על גופא סברא דהיא חורא לגביה. כיון דהיא . . . חמית דאשתני זיוהן דאפוי היא שבקא ליה ואולא ליה . . . This physiological observation made independently by various peoples (see Baudissin l.c. p. 413 f.) would explain the interval of mourning; the customs of fast in Hos 6₂ would repeat, as often, funebral rites.

¹⁵ Comp. I Sa 31₁₃ II Sa 1_{11f}. Jer 6₂₆ 7₂₉ and Hos 7₁₄ Is 22₁₂; also in the customs of the synagogue cf. Mas. Šof'rim XVIII, 4 ff. ed. J. Müller, Leipzig 1878 p. 255 ff.

¹⁶ Dt 9₁₈₋₂₅ Jos 7₆ Ezr 10₁ Neh 1₄; Is 29₄ Jer 3₂₆ 13₁₃ 14₂ Ps 44₂₆ 119₂₆; all night also II Sa 12₁₆ Joel 1₁₃. For הקים cf. II Sa 12₁₇₋₂₀; Ezra 9₅ Jos 7₁₀.

¹⁷ Cf. Ps 33₉ 22₂₇ Gen 47₂₅ and the kindred idiom נפש השיב Thr 1₁₁ I Sa 30₁₂.

¹⁸ Hence in prayers also figuratively תחינו חשוב Ps 71₂₀ 85₇ as the similar use of רפא and שובב in Ps 60_{3f}. See above note 3.

¹⁹ Both folk and prophet seem to point deictically to the rising sun 6_{3.5} which the imagery in 6₄ likewise confirms. Hence Giesebrecht's emendation in: Beiträge zur Jesaïakritik 1890 p. 208: כשחרנו כן נמצאדו on the basis of εὐρήσμεν αὐτόν in the Sept., adopted by many critics (Harper p. 283, G. A. Smith, Guthe l.c., Sellin³ p. 72, H. W. Hertzberg, Neue Kirchl. Zeitschr. 43, 1932 p. 525, et al.) is no improvement.

would mirror the *tōrā* of entry to the sanctuary, in the latter the divine oracle ²⁰ or benediction expected after the prayer and sacrifice.²¹ From a number of psalms the impression is gathered that the longed-for word of grace was spoken in the early hour of the morning sacrifice,²² the time of divine mercy in the cultus²³ and of miraculous interventions in the folk-tale.²⁴ As to the weary night watchman, so also to many a penitent the dawning morn seemed to promise release and relief.²⁵ Souls bowed down to the dust and cleaving unto the earth, as the custom of fast proscribed, hoped in the early morning hour to be raised from the ground and revived after penance ²⁶ — by a word of blessing spoken by the priest or by an oracle of the cult-prophet

²⁰ See e.g. Ju 20_{23, 27} and the detailed description of the ritual in II Chr 20_{3, 14ff.} Ps 60₈ is a good example, for also presupposing penance after a defeat: Hugo Winkler, *Gesch. Isr.* II p. 204 ff. thinks of Davidic times, so also Mowinkel, *Ps. St.* III p. 67, later in *Ps. St.* VI p. 92 preferring the Solomonic era; Ps 60₂ would thus not be utterly devoid of correct historic information, cf. now the very clever vindication of biblical superscriptions by Harry Torczyner, *Das literarische Problem der Bibel*, ZDMG 85, 1931, p. 287 ff.

²¹ Cf. Ps 20₇ spoken בִּיּוֹם צָרָה at the sacrifice (v. 4), also Ps 132_{11ff.} in answer to prayer or sacrifice (cf. v. 10). About the oracle in the cultus see Friedr. Kückler, *Das priesterliche Orakel in Israel und Juda*, in: Baudissin *Festschrift*, Giessen 1918 p. 297 ff.; Mowinkel, *Ps. St.* III. *Kultprophetie und prophetische Psalmen*, Kristiania 1923, p. 23 ff. The bible contains some twenty examples of prophetic liturgies in which the folk-lament is followed by an oracle, cf. Gunkel *ZAW* 42, 1924, p. 195.

²² See Ju 21₄ after a penance and II Re 3₂₀ also when seeking help and oracle, ib. vs. 11 ff. and Jos 7₆₋₁₆. For the morning sacrifice cf. Gen. 28₁₈ Ex 24₄ 29₃ 32₆ Lev 6₆ Nu 28₄ II Re 16₁₅ Am 4₄ Ez 46₁₃.

²³ Ps 5₄ 57₉ 59₁₇ 88₁₄ 108₈ Sir 47₁₀.

²⁴ Gunkel, *Das Märchen im A. T.*, Tübingen 1921, p. 70.

²⁵ Ps 130₆ 90₁₄ 143₈, see also Ps 46₆ and Is 26₉ where the Sept. reads φῶς = כָּאוֹר: "as light are thy judgments to earth," see William Popper, *The Prophetic Poetry of Isaiah*, Berkeley 1931, p. 195. To enforce and bring to light justice is one of the functions of all oriental sun-gods: hence the frequent association of light and right Is 58₈ 62₁ Ps 37₆ cf. also Ps 30₆ Is 17₁₄; perhaps also the customs of secular law II Sa 15₂ Jer 21₁₂ Job 29_{7LXX}.

²⁶ Ps 119_{25, 147} (read as in vs. 81 and 114 and cf. Ps 44₂₆) yearns as in Hos 6₂ for the reviving word, cf. the similar use of חִיָּה and קוֹם in vs. 25 and 28, and of רָפָא in Ps 107₂₀ Is 57_{16, 18f.} where the metaphor is taken from the bent and bowed down in fast days (cf. Ps 119₁₀₇). Ps 80₁₉, a north-Israelitish psalm, hence also a good parallel to Hos, is generally mistranslated or needlessly altered (against W. Staerk, *Schr. d. A. T. in Auswahl* III 1² Göttingen 1920 p. 144 and Gunkel, *Psalmen* p. 351); the verse is to be rendered much alike Gen 32₂₇, the latter happening indeed at dawn: We will not retreat from thee (i.e. leave the sanctuary) lest thou bless us! Cf. the refrain Ps 80_{4ff.} and Nu 6₂₅, also the passages quoted above note 18.

promising in the name of the deity to grant the request of the beseeching individual or community.²⁷ Such words of comfort or benediction at the end of the service²⁸ were a regular feature of the ancient cultus.

Now, one can easily imagine the shock of the congregation, if the prayed-for message of good cheer: Arise, thy sins are forgiven, thou shalt not die!²⁹ were to be refused suddenly, contrary to the rule, and the community dismissed from the sanctuary with rebuke rather than benediction. Jeremiah scarcely escaped death when he dared to use such dramatic moments of mass contrition³⁰ for a downright denial of the efficacy of the most sacred symbols of the cult when not accompanied by a change of conduct away from the sanctuary. May he not help to explain the similar employment of the liturgy of the days of penance by an earlier great clansman of his whose prophecies he studied, quoted and even commented?³¹

Hos 6₄ and 6₆, fortunately intact, are clearly related. As in Arabic and in the exactly corresponding verse 10_{3c} the interrogative *mā* is really a negative: Would that I could help³² you! But your better moods are gone in a moment, as quickly as the morning mist, or at best, with the few days of fast and

²⁷ Hans Schmidt, *Das Gebet der Angeklagten im A. T.*, Giessen 1928 p. 23 ff. interprets Ps 3₆ 5₄ 17₁₆ 27₄ (emending לְפָנַי) 57₉ and 139₁₈ as showing that the exoneration of the indicted and detained in the temple (I Re 8_{31f}) took place in the morning. See also R. Press, ZAW 51, 1933 p. 139 f.

²⁸ Lev 9_{22f}. I Sa 2₂₀ II Sa 6₁₈ I Re 8_{54f}.; the worshippers rising for the benediction ib. v. 14 and Neh 8_{5f}. See B. Jacob, *Beiträge zu einer Einleitung in die Psalmen*, ZAW 16, 1896, p. 149 ff.

²⁹ Cf. II Sa 12₁₃ Mat 9₆.

³⁰ Jer 36_{6, 9-19, 26}, cf. also Jer 26 and the allusions to the decalogue in 7₉ as if to say: you should be barred from entrance to the sanctuary altogether! See Ps 50₁₆ ff. and chap. III, text and note 34.

³¹ For example Jer 3₂₂ = Hos 14₆, Jer 4₃ = Hos 10₁₂, Jer 14₁₀ = Hos 8₁₃. In his review of my *Ezekiel or Pseudo-Ezekiel?* (repr. from Harv. Theol. Rev. 24, 1931, p. 247 ff. esp. p. 297) the lamented Dr. A. Zifroni (in *Lešōnēnū* v. 4, Tel Aviv 1932, p. 248-252) rightly detected in Jer 31_{27f}. a commentary upon Hos 2₅. See also K. Gross, *Die literarische Verwandtschaft Jeremias mit Hosea*, Leipzig 1930 p. 32 f. complemented in *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschr.* 42, 1931 p. 241 ff., 327 ff.

³² That is the meaning of הושיע here and in Hos 10₃, cf. I Sa 14₆ = והושיע and in the frequent oath II Sa 3₈₅ etc.

penance at the sanctuary. God however demands, to quote Abraham ibn Ezra: ³³ חסד נכון ולא חסד כענן, devotion, not devotions. Some such introduction to the requirements of the prophetic ethos stated in 6₆, the latter part of 6₅ unmistakably suggests:

כְּאֹרֶךְ יָצָא

בְּאִמְרֵי מִשְׁפָּטִי

in speech of my own mouth my ordinance ³⁵
went forth like the light. ³⁶

In other words, my *mišpāl*, the conditions of my help and the terms of my covenant, have been stated as clearly as the day. The similarity of thought and situation with Mi 6₈ is indeed striking: ³⁷ הַגִּיד לְךָ אָדָם . . . מָה יְהוָה דֹּרֵשׁ מִמֶּךָ. But what is the meaning of the first half of 6₅, and above all, of the exasperating conjunction *‘al-kēn* which has baffled centuries of exegesis and has at best been expunged, ³⁸ but never explained? Does not this very difficulty betray the seat of corruption?

In the older Hebrew script נ and פ are hardly distinguishable and the context alone decides which is to be read. In proper names, unless the orthography is certain upon independent grounds, either letter may be taken: פַּעְרִי in II Sa 23₃₅ reads in the identical list of I Chr 11₃₇ יַעְרִי. A like substitution in Hos 6₅ yields the excellent text:

עַל-בֶּיֶת הָצִבְתִּי

on a rock have I hewn.

³³ Comment. on Hos 6₆. Again Jer 14₁₀ (2₂₇ 3₄₁.) may serve as a parallel.

³⁴ See the Targum: וְדִינִי כְנֹהֶר נִפְיָק, the Sept.: τὸ κρίμα μου ὡς φῶς, the Syriac: **ܡܫܦܬܐ ܕܝܢܐ ܕܝܢܐ**, even some MSS. of the Vulgate: *judicium meum*.

³⁵ One can also translate with Diodati: "the law which I have given thee for a rule" or with the Geneva Engl. Bible: "my doctrine" (both cited by Pococke, l.c. p. 308) or with L. W. Batten, JBL 11, 1892 p. 209 "my religion." Note the connotation of *help* in שֹׁפֵט, cf. I Sa 24₁₆ II Sa 18₁₉₋₃₁ et fr., also Hos 5₁₁: stripped of its right, helpless.

³⁶ Cf. Zeph 3, Is 51₄ and Job 12₂₂ 28₁₁. See also the kindred similes in ancient oriental literature cited by L. Dürr, in: Sellin Festschrift p. 44 ff., esp. the references to the Hammurapi code where *ašû* = יָצָא is used for both sunrise and law promulgation. Against Mowinkel, Le Déc. p. 53 f.

³⁷ See Albrecht Alt, Neue Kirchl. Zts. 1919 p. 563.

³⁸ See its impeachment or deletion by Wellhausen, Nowack, Duhm, Praetorius, Alt, Schmidt et al., ch. I notes 11, 12, 23 and 34.

In the kindred passage in Job 19₂₄ where the poet thinks of inscriptions graven in the rocks, the Syriac reads quite similarly יתרשמן³⁹ כאפא⁴⁰ ועל. The whole verse Hos 6₅ thus reconstructed runs in four smooth dimeters, a beat that Hosea so often alternates⁴¹ with the trimeter:

בְּנִיָּאִים ה[. .] תי ⁴²	עַל־כֶּף חֲצִבָּתִי
כְּאוֹר יָצָא	בְּאִמְרֵי־י מִשְׁפָּטִי

³⁹ Cod. Alex. *ἐν πέτραις ἐγγλυφῆναι* which calls to mind: *σὺ κληθήσῃ Κηφῆς* John 14₂ Mt 16₁₈ and the midraš based on Is 51₁ where God says of Abraham: I have found a rock [פֶּטְרָא] to build on it and to establish the world; Yalkut Šime'oni on Num 23₉ from Yelammedenu.

כָּפָּ, accad. *kāpu*, aram. כִּפָּא and כִּיָּ cf. Targ. Ps. 118₂₂ for אֶבֶן, Targ. Nu 23₉ for צוֹר and Targ. Yer. Dt. 32₁₃ for סֹלֶעַ. Significantly the word occurs in the language of Hosea's kinsman Jer 4₉ where וּבְכַפִּים (cf. also Job 30₆) is to be interpreted as in I Sa 13₈ Is 21₉₋₂₁ Jer 16₁₆. See also Sir 40₁₄. The word has been conjectured into the difficult I Sa 13₂₁ though with little luck, cf. W. Caspari, *Die Samuelbücher*, Leipzig 1926, p. 158 and the recent treatment of the passage by Elias Auerbach, *Wüste und Gelobtes Land*, Berlin 1932 p. 175.

If the noun be an aramaism, the dialect of our book exhibits also otherwise similar influence: Hos 5₁₃ 8₁₂ 10₅₋₁₄ 11_{3.8.9} 12₂ which is but natural with so kindred a language and so frequent contacts in peace and war, cf. I Re 20₃₄ Am 3₁₂ (see A. Weiser, *Die Prophetie des Amos*, Giessen 1929 p. 150, differently H. G. May, *PEFQS* 65, 1933 p. 88 f.); II Re 13_{3.7} Am 1₃; Is 9₁₁ Hos 7₉; II Re 16₆ Is 7₂ Hos 5₁₁. See also Martin Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung*, Stuttgart 1928 p. 43 who finds the formation of names in the imperfect (e.g. יְמִלָּה I Re 22_{3f.} or יִרְכִּיֶהוּ Is 8₂) in the later period of kings inexplicable unless borrowed from the Aramaic. Early Aramaic letters were found on the back of ivories from Samaria, discovered in a stratum full of Israelite potsherds of the eighth and ninth cts. B.C. Their workmanship is closely related to the ivory inlays of a bed of Hazael of Damascus cf. Am 3₁₅ 6₄ and J. W. Crowfoot, *PEFQS* 64, 1932 p. 132 f. and 65, 1933 p. 18, also JPOS 13, 1933 p. 124. Much water has flown the Jordan since the days of E. Kautzsch, *Die Aramaismen im A. T.*, Halle a. S. 1902 p. 42 and 104, who believed an aramaism to be "immer eine starke Instanz für die Ansetzung des betreffenden Abschnittes in exilischer oder nachexilischer Zeit" — as has been indeed attempted with Hos 6₁ ff., see intr. note 4.

⁴⁰ חֲצִב is construed with בּ or עַל in analogy with the similar חָקַק Is 30₈ Job 19₂₃ or חָרַת Ex 32₁₆ or חָרַשׁ Jer 17₁ and כָּתַב Dt 27₈. Indeed חֲצִב = *ṣḥf* is in Ethiopic the regular verb for *write*, borrowed also from south-semitic usage in the Arabic *maṣḥaf* for a copy of the Koran; see Siegmund Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, Leiden 1886, p. 248 and idem, *Zum sporadischen Lautwandel in den semitischen Sprachen*, in: *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, v. III, 1895, p. 69; cf. also the mediaeval Hebrew מִצְחָף, codex, taken over from the Arabic, e.g. P. Kahle, *Masoreten des Westens* Stuttgart 1927 I, p. 3.

⁴¹ Sellin³ p. 23; cf. Enno Littmann, *Zum wechselnden Rhythmus in der hebr. Poesie*, in: *Zeitschr. f. Semit.* 2, 1924 p. 272 ff. and Gunkel, *ib.* p. 148.

⁴² The corruption of M. T. is palpably patent in 5c "which is nonsense," G. A. Smith

On a rock have I hewn,
By prophets made it known,
In words of my mouth my ordinance
Went forth like the light:

That I delight in kindness
And not in sacrifice,
In the knowledge of God
More than in burnt offerings.

The prophet's answer is neither an impatient outburst ⁴³ nor an utterance of despair. The tone in 6₄ is obviously sympathy for the suppliant who must be regretfully ⁴⁴ denied access to the benefits of the cult, since the regulations of entry or the *mišpāt* of the deity irrevocably require that he be refused admission to the blessings of the sanctuary. He has disregarded

l.c. p. 221. The misreading of but a single, hardly distinguishable letter (ך for כ), facilitated by the rarity of the noun *kēf* and the frequency of the *lectio faciliior* ('*al-kēn*), gave the verse at once the character of a threat and led almost unavoidably to its misdivision and corruption: for *bannēbî'im* became the object or instrument of *ḥāṣabti* and thus made any salutary meaning in the second verb inappropriate.

In restoration of the second verb one thinks naturally of the confusion of כ and ך often mistaken for each other in both the old Hebrew alphabet and the square character (cf. Friedr. Delitzsch, *Die Lese- und Schreibfehler im A. T.* Berlin 1920 p. 105 ff.) and attested to in the Sept. to our book alone 15 times. A slight transposition of letters, frequent in our book (cf. Hos 10₉) would give [כ] הַיְדַבְּרִיתִי, I have declared or revealed, cf. Dt 4₁₃ Mi 6₈ Jer 42₃. For the construction with כ = by the agency of, cf. Hos 12₁₄ (also 1₇ 14₁) Jud. 7₇ I Sa 14₆, in the ancient judicial formula Gen 9₆ and most esp. in connection with the deity Dt 32₂₉ Is 45₁₇ Ps 18₃₀ 44₆ 60₁₄. The final כ of the verb, though it could be retained and explained by the changes of address traced by Lindblom l.c. in 'revelatory' style, is probably a dittogram or adaptation to the foregoing word. Another guess would be הַיְדַבְּרִיתִי cf. Ex 33₁₃ (also Nu 12₆) Jer 11₁₈ and Ez 20₁₁, the latter both in language and thought a very instructive parallel and hence rightly cited along the traditional lines of exegesis by older critics, see Rosenmüller l.c. p. 198. As to the construction cf. Ju 8₁₆ emended by some as in Ju 8₇, but see I Sa 14₁₂ Jer 16₂₁. Klostermann's הַיְדַבְּרִיתִי cf. Ex 24₁₂ Hos 10₁₂ and for construction Job 27₁₁, used of seers as well as of priests Ex 4₁₂ I Sa 12₂₃ Is 9₁₄, could also be thought of. But the assonance liked by Hos (e.g. 2₇ 8₇) does not speak in its favor.

⁴³ Which is forbidden even by '*al-kēn* if it were properly used, see about the conjunction S. D. Luzzato in העתים בכורי vol. VIII Vienna 1827 p. 137.

⁴⁴ Cf. the good old Pococke l.c. p. 303: "The words import great affection and trouble of bowels (if we may say so) in him that utters them and shew him to be loath to do what he is forced by the waywardness of them whom he hath to deal with."

the will of God, hewn clearly in stone ⁴⁵ and reiterated by a succession of prophets ⁴⁶ down to Hosea's own ministry.⁴⁷ They all have taught what the reticence in the decalogue about sacrifices must have been intended to convey, that God prefers ⁴⁸ goodness to gifts and right to rite.

Stripped of the language of the cultus which made the message of Hosea so pointed and plain to his contemporaries, divested of the symbolism of the *tôrā* of entry or the cult-oracle expected in answer to prayer and sacrifice,⁴⁹ the words contain a last warning — before it is too late — to the two kindred peoples who in flagrant violation of all brotherly *hesed* had shortly before been arraigned against each other in a cruel war and have thus both become an easy prey of the great northern empire. No cry at the altars, no lavishness of sacrifice will avail: "because they have transgressed my covenant, and trespassed against my law . . . Israel hath spurned the good, hence the foe pursues him."⁵⁰ *Μετανοείτε!*

⁴⁵ Ex 24₁₂ 31₁₈ 32_{15f.} 34₁₋₂₈ Dt 4₁₃ 5₁₉ 9₁₀ 10₄ I Re 8₉. For a novel interpretation of Dt 27_{2f.} and Jos 8₃₂ cf. B. Gabirol, *Die zehn Gebote ursprünglich eine Felsinschrift?* in: Arch. f. Religionswiss. 25, 1927 p. 221 f.

⁴⁶ Teachings such as I Sa 15_{22f.} or Am 5_{24f.} are here thought of. The association of Mose and Samuel as in Jer 15₁ and Ps 99₆, cf. also the midrašic fancy in b. Ta'anit 5^b connecting our verse with Samuel. About the authenticity of I Sa 15_{22f.} doubted by Mowinkel, *Le Déc.* p. 99 f., see W. Caspari, *Samuelbücher*, p. 176; Rud. Kittel, *Die Rel. des Volkes Israel*², Lpz. 1929, p. 64.

⁴⁷ *b'e'imrê-fî* (cf. Jos 24₂₇) suggests as in Mi 6₈ Jer 7₂₂ reference to Ex 20_{1ff.} Alt l.c. refers it to Hosea's own prophecies.

⁴⁸ The interpretation of the conjunction in *וְלֹא־יָצָא* as *privativum* (Sellin³ p. 75) is forbidden by Hos 3₄ or 9₄. Cf. when in doubt, Hosea's best commentator Jer 7₂₃!

⁴⁹ A good parallel to our poem is Ps 95 consisting also of a song of pilgrims, though not elegiac as in Hos, but hymnic in character, and of a rejoinder, almost a rebuke of the cult-prophet. The difference in mood between the two parts has led to a similar dissection into independent units (by Nowack and Cheyne) as in Hos 6₁₋₆. Ps 81, combining also folk-song and cult-oracle and a good example of the use of the decalogue (see vs. 10 f.) in the worship of northern Israel, ends in the sad, though not hopeless optative (vs. 14 f.) which could conclude as well Ps 95 or Hos 6_{4ff.}: "O that my people had hearkened unto me! I should soon have subdued their enemies."

⁵⁰ Hos 8_{1,3} cf. the equation Am 5₄ = 5₁₄; see also Hos 5₁₂ 7_{8f.} 8₈ 9₂₋₁₆ — all signs of a society dried of the source of life (cf. Ps 36₁₀), or sapped of all 'weight' or worth of soul, hence 'light' or cursed, see Joh. Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten*, Strassburg 1914 p. 80.

V

The date of the decalogue has always been a moot problem of modern biblical research, but never, it seems, was there a wider variety of views than today. Mowinckel's monograph, bristling with points of interest, is an able defense of a much later date than that assigned by tradition and reestablished in the post-Wellhausenian era by scholars such as Hugo Gressmann,¹ Rudolf Kittel,² Ernst Sellin,³ Eduard König,⁴ Paul Volz,⁵ Otto Procksch,⁶ Joh. Hempel,⁷ Hans Schmidt,⁸ etc. The decalogue is declared again to be the product of the ripest prophetic thought and to represent the result of the work and teaching of the great prophets at least down to and including Isaiah; indeed, it is within the circle of the latter's disciples that the epoch-making document is said to have originated, first as a religious and moral regimen for their own members, and later as enjoined upon all just men.⁹ Its Mosaic authorship is dismissed, with additional arguments from the more recent study of biblical literary genres and historical 'prejection',¹⁰ very much along the lines of reasoning employed by the older school of biblical thought: A. Kuenen,¹¹ J. Wellhausen,¹²

¹ *Mose und seine Zeit*, Göttingen 1913, p. 471 ff.

² *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Gotha 1923 v. I⁶ p. 383 f. 445 ff.

³ *Mose und seine Bedeutung für die isr. jüd. Gesch.* 1922; *Einl. in d. A. T.*⁵, Leipzig 1929 p. 25 f.; *Isr. jüd. Religionsgeschichte* Lpz. 1933 p. 22.

⁴ *Die neuesten Verhandlungen über den Dekalog*, in: *Neue Kirchl. Zeitschr.* 17, 1906, pp. 565-584; *Das Deuteronomium*, Leipzig 1917 p. 91 ff.

⁵ See now the second ed. of his: *Mose und sein Werk*, Tübingen 1932 p. 23 ff.

⁶ *Die Elohimquelle*, Leipzig 1906, p. 371.

⁷ *Die Schichten des Deuteronomiums*, Leipzig 1914 p. 159 f. and *ZDMG* 79, 1925 p. 99.

⁸ *Mose und der Dekalog*, in: *Gunkel Festschrift* 1923 pp. 78-119.

⁹ Mowinckel, *Le Déc.* p. 113 assigns Dt 5 to about 600 and Ex 20 to about 450 B.C. Neither was ever used in worship, hence the consistent reference to "l'usage cultuel des décalogues primitifs dans le culte," p. 131 et fr.

¹⁰ i.e., reproduction of the drama of the cultus in the language of historic myth: present-day rites and symbols of the people are projected back into legendary antiquity. See now the criticism of M. Buber, *Königtum Gottes*, Berlin 1932 p. 120 ff.

¹¹ *Hist. krit. Einleitung in die Bücher des A. T.* v. I² p. 233.

¹² *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* 1884, I p. 68; *Isr. jüd. Geschichte*, 1897 p. 11 f. 30 f. *Prolegomena* 1899 p. 349.

B. Stade,¹³ R. Smend,¹⁴ K. Budde,¹⁵ K. Marti,¹⁶ W. Nowack,¹⁷ etc. A third group of critics, including C. Steuernagel,¹⁸ J. Meinhold¹⁹ and G. Hölscher,²⁰ argues for an even later, exilic or post-exilic date of the decalogue.

The wide divergence of scholarly opinion is explained largely by the scarcity of unequivocally dated sources. It deserves notice however that so judicious a scholar as Ludwig Köhler,²¹ reviewing all the newer evidence, including the arguments of Mowinckel, arrayed against the traditional origin, confesses to be unable to detect a single valid consideration against the Mosaic date of the decalogue: "Das Ganze ist im Munde Mose wohl denkbar . . . nichts was gegen seine Abfassung in der Zeit des Mose spricht." The decalogue can date, though it need not date from Mosaic times.²² Unless new finds are made, I doubt whether the paucity of preserved documents will ever warrant a more definite claim.

In arguments against the early origin frequent use is made of the total absence of any direct reference to the decalogue in later writings.²³ The prophets never mention the decalogue,

¹³ *Gesch. d. Volkes Israel* 1887 I p. 58, 457, 584; *Bibl. Theologie des A. T.* p. 36 f.

¹⁴ *Lehrbuch d. alttest. Religionsgeschichte*³ Leipzig 1899 p. 16, 273.

¹⁵ *Geschichte der althebr. Litteratur*, Leipzig 1906, p. 95, 100.

¹⁶ *Geschichte der israel. Religion*⁴, Strassburg 1903 p. 68.

¹⁷ *Der erste Dekalog*, in: *Baudissin Festschrift* 1918 p. 381 ff.

¹⁸ *Lehrbuch der Einleitung in das A. T.*, Tübingen, 1912 p. 259 ff.; *Das Deuteronomium*², Göttingen 1923 p. 29.

¹⁹ *Einführung in das A. T.*² Giessen, 1926 p. 103 and 188 ff.; *Der Dekalog*, Giessen 1927.

²⁰ *Geschichte der isr. und jüd. Religion*, Giessen 1922, p. 130. For additional literature on the decalogue see J. M. Powis Smith, *The Origin and History of Hebrew Law*, Chicago 1931, p. 7.

²¹ *Der Dekalog*, in: *Theol. Rundschau N. F.* I, 1929, pp. 159-184.

²² See *ib.* p. 178 f. The quest for a single author is dismissed by Köhler "weil jeder Dekalog seiner schriftstellerischen Art nach unpersönlich ist." If Shiloh had no immediate pre-Israelitish occupation, 1 Sa 21₁ (cf. *ib.* 14, 22₁₁) would suggest that the Israelite *tôrôt* of entry mirror not Canaanitish rites (Mowinckel, *Le Déc.* p. 155) but their own pristine and pre-Palestinian traditions. See Alt, *Der Gott der Väter*, Stuttg. 1929 p. 64. However, the latest brief campaign at Shiloh produced numerous sherds from Late Bronze, cf. *BASOR* 48, 1932 p. 14 f. and *QDAP* III 1933 p. 180.

²³ Stade, *Biblische Theologie*, p. 37; Meinhold, *Einführung*², p. 7, 102 and *Der Dekalog* p. 31; Aug. Gampert, *Le Décalogue*, in: *Revue de Théologie et de Philos.*, n.s. 14, 1926, p. 201 f.

and the allusions thereto in Hos 4₂ and Jer 7₉, even if conclusive, which is doubted sometimes, can be contended to antedate the decalogue or even to have influenced its formulation.²⁴ The same applies to the formula of epiphany in Hos 12₁₀ 13₄. Other passages in which reference to the decalogue has been sought, are either late or labored.²⁵

If the reconstruction of Hos 6₅, here presented, be true, the verse would contain *the earliest, definite and dated, literary attestation of the decalogue*. For the prophetic chapter of which it is a part has been shown in all probability to date from shortly after the Syro-Ephraimitish war. We should thus gain a *terminus ad quem* for the decalogue, ca. 730 B.C.²⁶ With the other passages of the book Hos 4₂ 12₁₀ 13₄²⁷ adding to the evidence, since they can no longer be regarded as prior to the composition of the decalogue, we can now say with Schmidt: "Man darf doch fragen, wem wir wohl in der Zeit vor Hosea diese Formulierung der Gebote zutrauen sollen ausser dem Mose."²⁸

I repeat: *if* the corrupt verse is correctly deciphered! To base the case for the Mosaic date of the decalogue upon an emendation would cast unnecessary suspicion upon an otherwise quite good claim, backed by long and unanimous tradition, up till now never successfully invalidated. To refrain from emendation on principle would mean, in the case of Hosea, to relinquish the hope of ever understanding one of the

²⁴ Paul Vetter, *Die Zeugnisse der vorexilischen Propheten über den Pentateuch*, II. Hoseas, in: *Theol. Quartalschrift* 83, 1901 p. 102 and Mowinkel, *Le Déc.* p. 55.

²⁵ Jer 32₁₈ Sir 126 24₂₃ or Hos 8₁₂ 12₁₁ 14₃ as pleaded by Sellin, *Mose*, p. 23 f. 36 f., 39 ff., the emendation of the last passage is however revoked in *Zwölfprophetenbuch*³ p. 138.

²⁶ About the difficulties of chronology, esp. about the duration of the reign of Pekah, see Joachim Begrich, *Die Chronologie der Könige von Israel und Juda*, Tübingen 1929 p. 103 ff. and S. Mowinkel, *Die Chronologie der isr. und jüd. Könige*, Leiden 1932 (= *Acta Orientalia* 10, p. 213 ff.).

²⁷ Cf. also Hos 14₂ otherwise rare in classical prophecy: Am 9₁₆ Is 7₁₀ 37₄, see Procksch, *Jesaia I*, p. 119. Cf. also Umberto Cassuto, in: *Livre d'hommage à la mémoire du Dr. Samuel Poznanski*, Warsaw 1927 p. 129, and his recent treatment of Hosea and the decalogue in: *Abhandlungen zur Erinnerung an H. P. Chajes*, Vienna 1933, p. 268 ff. of the Hebrew part.

²⁸ Gunkel *Festschrift*, p. 103, cf. also R. H. Charles, *The Decalogue*, Edinburgh 1923 p. xlviii f. Note that the allusions to the decalogue are made by the author of Hos 12₁₄ and 11₁ 9₁₀ 21₇ and of the frequent יְשׁוּבָה 8₁₃ 9₃ 11₅ (cf. Dt 17₁₆ 28₆₈).

most mangled texts in the Old Testament.²⁹ However, before it claims to be legitimate, let alone necessary, an emendation must stand a set of critical tests such as formulated by S. R. Driver:³⁰ it must yield sense, unmistakably superior to that of the traditional version, be in accordance with idiom, and not differ too widely from the *ductus litterarum* of the existing text, especially in the older script. The interpretation here suggested seems to meet a few further requirements: it is backed by the analogy of kindred forms of prophetic expression,³¹ is corroborated by the customs of cultus which it has been found to imitate,³² it restores the rhythmic parallelism of an otherwise unbalanced verse,³³ and it is able to account for the almost inevitable³⁴ corruption of the transmitted text.

The aesthetic gain can be seen even in a prosaic translation:

Pilgrims: 1. Come, let us return to God!

For He has rent, and He alone can restore us,
He has hurt, He must heal us!

2. After two (fast-) days He will revive us,
On the third day He will raise us,
That we may live (and prosper) in His sight.

3. Let us then know,
Let us eagerly strive to know God!
He will go forward surely as the dawn,
And come to us like the rain,
Like the spring showers that quicken the earth.

²⁹ G. A. Smith l.c. p. 220; Harper p. clxxiii.

³⁰ Notes on the Books of Samuel, Oxford 1913 p. xi.

³¹ Cf. Gunkel, Zeitschr. f. Semit. 2, 1924 p. 146: "Der einzelne Abschnitt ist oft schwer genug zu erfassen, aber er tritt nicht selten sofort in helles Licht, sobald wir seine Verwandtschaft mit anderen bemerkt haben: Wir gewinnen ein neues Mittel, Verderbnisse des Textes zu heilen."

³² See the discussion in chapter III and notes 30 and 49 of chapter IV.

³³ What seemed an awkward third of parallelism led to a transfer of the verse by Marti and Procksch (cf. n. 3 of chapter I), by F. E. Peiser, Hosea, Lpz. 1914 p. 25 and Mowinkel, Le Déc. p. 54 n. 1 or to its deletion by Ruben (cf. n. 15 and 16 of chapter I) and more recently by Lindblom, l.c. p. 85: "5c stört den Zusammenhang und ist als falscher Bestandteil des Textes auszuschneiden."

³⁴ See note 42 of Chapter IV.

- Prophet:* 4. Would that I could help thee, Ephraim!
 Would that I could help thee, Judah!
 But your faith is fickle as the morning cloud,
 And quickly failing as the dew.
5. In rock have I hewn,
 Through prophets made it known,
 In words of my mouth my creed
 Went forth clearly as the sun:
6. I delight in mercy,
 Not sacrifice!
 In the knowledge of God
 Rather than offerings!

POSTSCRIPT: Since the completion of this paper, some pertinent discussion has appeared. W. Baumgartner, *Der Auferstehungsglaube im Alten Orient* (in *Zts. f. Missionskunde u. Religionswiss.* 48, 1933, p. 212 f.) finds the imagery of Hos. 6₂ f. borrowed "offenbar von der Auferstehung eines Gottes am dritten Tage . . . , für Osiris, Attis, und wohl auch für Tammuz bezeugt." See above, ch. IV, notes 9 and 14. Unconscious pagan survivals in the Israelitish customs of mourning are naturally not to be denied. But Hos. 6₂ militates no more against them than Jer. 22₁₈ (34₅).

In the recent issue of the JPOS 14, 1934, pp. 1-42, Karl Budde discusses with accustomed thoroughness Hos. 5₁-6₆. Since *ḥāṣab* "bedeutet überall nur die Arbeit des Steinmetzen" (ib. p. 38 f.), Oettli's emendation is adopted in 6₅: *m^eḥaṣṭim*. See above, ch. I. n. 3. As to the date of the prophecy, Budde also places Hos. 5₈₋₁₀ in the last phase of the Syro-Ephraimitish war, assigning 5₁₁-6₆ to an earlier period, "wohl näher bei 738 als bei 735" (ib. p. 41). He must, however, emend all the four references to Judah in 5₁₂, 13, 14 and 6₄ (ib. p. 26).

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